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1865: PROLOGUE TO THE MORANT BAY REBELLION IN JAMAICA

1865 was a crucial year for Jamaica. In October, the Morant Bay Rebellion transformed the colony's political structure as well as that of most of the British Caribbean. Led by a native Baptist deacon, Paul Bogle, the rebellion engulfed the parish of St. Thomas in the East. The subsequent repression by British forces and by the Jamaican Maroons resulted in the deaths of nearly 500 blacks. Yet although the rebellion itself has received considerable attention, there has been relatively little discussion about the nine months which preceded the outbreak (Craton 1988; Curtin 1955; Green 1976; Hall 1959; Heuman 1981; Robotham 1981). This is surprising in light of the highly politicized state of the island during most of 1865. This paper therefore seeks to discuss these developments; it focuses especially on island politics and on the widescale public meetings which took place throughout the island during the year.¹

I

The year opened to a spate of gloomy reports about the economic condition of the island. Indeed, even before 1864 had ended, *The Falmouth Post*, a leading paper in the northern part of the colony, commented on the "signs of growing poverty in the midst of us. There is hardly a counting-house in the country whether on Estates or in our Stores from which evidence of the magnitude of the fact may not be drawn. The lamentation over the material decadence of the country is almost universal."²

The main cause of this distress was the state of the sugar market. The price of sugar had dropped, in some cases below the cost of production. A planter

paper, *The Colonial Standard*, reported on "the cry of alarm and distress that has burst forth from all classes in the country".³ The American Civil War added to Jamaica's economic problems; it resulted in a dramatic increase in the cost of food and clothing. At a time when estates were reducing the amount of sugar under cultivation as well as their wage bill, prices for imports were increasing dramatically. Work on the estates was harder to find, and when it was available, wages rates had frequently declined (Heuman 1981: 171).⁴

To add to these difficulties, Jamaica was also suffering from a severe drought. In some parishes, it was the worst drought anyone could remember. A prediction from one of the major sugar-producing parishes, Trelawny, forecast the loss of several sugar estates, if conditions persisted. The report concluded "that if there be not a speedy change for the better, the manufacture of Sugar and Rum in Jamaica will, ere long, be numbered amongst the things that were".⁵ Neighbouring Hanover was suffering a similar fate: a correspondent there noted that "our prospects are very bad: not a drop of rain: crops are short, and plants for next year are suffering materially. Poor Jamaica! What is to be done with bad seasons, bad returns, and bad prices?"⁶

Even for a press given to hyperbole, these remarks were evidence of the seriousness of the situation. But the drought was not just hurting the large estates; the peasantry who depended on ground provisions were badly affected as well. There was a universal dearth of ground provisions, which forced up the price of food. Some commentators blamed the peasantry for becoming involved in the religious revival of the early 1860s and ignoring their agricultural plots. Whatever the cause, there was little doubt about the dramatic consequences for the mass of the population.⁷

For the people, one solution was to steal the food which was available. It was certainly clear that the theft of ground provisions had become commonplace. In his opening speech to the Legislature in 1864, Governor Edward Eyre observed that "the great increase and almost universal prevalence throughout the country of larceny of provisions or of domestic animals, calls for the most prompt and stringent measures to repress an evil which frustrates the toil of the industrious, and paralyses all efforts at improvement or comfort".⁸ In some ways, Eyre's strictures were unnecessary. The number of prisoners in the island's penitentiaries had jumped from 283 inmates in 1861 to 629 by 1864. A year later, the figure was 710 prisoners; more significantly, 617 of them were committed for larceny.⁹

These developments in Jamaica were not unknown to officials in Britain. But they were highlighted by a letter in January, 1865 from Edward Underhill, the secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society, to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. In it, Underhill described the increasing distress of the black population in Jamaica. For Underhill, there was no doubt about "the extreme poverty of the people" which was evidenced "by the ragged and even naked

condition of vast numbers of them".¹⁰ He noted the increase in crime, and especially of larceny. The immediate cause of these problems was the drought, but there were longer-term explanations as well. Underhill believed that there was a lack of employment in Jamaica. Since there was less work on the estates and since the drought had caused a general failure of the provision grounds, the people either had to "steal or starve. And this is their present condition."

For Underhill, the Jamaican Legislature was partly responsible for the state of the colony. Although he did not elaborate on the island's legislation, Underhill criticized the high levels of taxation (especially on the mass of the population), the abortive immigration schemes, and the Assembly's denial of political rights to the ex-slaves. Worst of all, British capitalists had ceased investing in Jamaica; unless this changed and "employment can be given to its starving people, I see no other result than the entire failure of the island".

To avoid this catastrophe, Underhill made several suggestions. He called for an inquiry into the island's legislation, its taxation, and its general economic condition to find out where things had gone wrong. In addition, Underhill advised that the peasantry produce more exportable commodities and especially minor products such as coffee and tobacco rather than sugar. But it was not his recommendations for saving Jamaica which aroused so much interest; rather it was Underhill's description of the state of the island and its people which generated such feeling.

The Colonial Office forwarded Underhill's letter to Governor Eyre, who circulated it to the Custodes and heads of religious denominations all over the colony. Eyre asked his informants for their views about the general accuracy of Underhill's allegations and about the causes of the current crisis, although he believed that Underhill had exaggerated the case (Underhill 1895: 13).¹¹

Much of the response to Underhill's letter reinforced the picture of a colony in decline. One of the most thoughtful replies came from Richard Hill, a stipendiary magistrate appointed during the apprenticeship period and the senior resident magistrate in St. Catherine. In thirty years as a stipendiary magistrate, Hill had never seen Jamaica "sunk so low, in the wretchedness of 'difficulty of living' as at present". There was little doubt that the American Civil War had significantly worsened the economic plight of the colony. In addition, the severe drought of the past two years as well as a series of epidemic diseases, including small pox and typhoid fever, had made matters much worse.

For Hill, a further problem was the increasing population in the post-emancipation period. When coupled with a fifty percent decline in the number of plantations in Jamaica after 1834, this meant a serious shortage of work for the ex-slave population. Hill calculated that "a great proportion of the community... now have no profitable occupation... They are from necessity idle, because they cannot get employment, and they are drifting into the vicious

condition of people living how they can." The result was an increasing prison population, often committed to jail for stealing food.¹²

The report of the Baptist Union reinforced many of Hill's conclusions and supported some of Underhill's claims. Based on the findings of Baptist missionaries all over the island, the Union pointed to the severe lack of employment, despite the desperate means often adopted by people to find work:

It appears that in some districts numbers of people are known to walk from 6 to 30 miles in search of work, that numbers even in crop time, applying to the Estates for employment, are turned back without obtaining it: that at the present time in consequence of drought, and in some cases from partial cultivation, some Estates are working short time; & that in many districts creole labour has been displaced either wholly or in part by that of Coolies, Chinese, and Africans.

This was the case during the high season; after the sugar had been harvested, there was even less work available.

The consequence of an excess supply of labour was a sharp drop in wages. While task work had usually taken the place of day labour, the amount of labour involved in a task had sometimes been significantly increased. At the same time, wages had been reduced, often by as much as twenty-five percent. The Baptists were not blaming the planters for lowering their labour costs, but they wanted the Governor to understand "the actual condition of the labouring population of the country, that your Excellency may see the general truthfulness of the representations contained in Dr. Underhill's letter..."¹³

An Anglican minister in the parish of Westmoreland, Henry Clarke, agreed that, at least in his part of Jamaica, the people were "in a distressing state of poverty". The low wages were partly to blame for this situation: the top rate of one shilling per day was insufficient to feed and clothe a man, even without taking into account the additional costs of his family. To add to this problem, the high import duties on many necessities as well as taxes on such working items as horses, mules and wheels were "calculated to starve the people... and must result in reducing all classes of the community to poverty".¹⁴ Clarke's analysis of Jamaica's plight, like that of Richard Hill and the Baptist Union, echoed many of Underhill's sentiments. Yet there were many who disagreed with Underhill's letter and with his description of Jamaica.

A planter with estates in Metcalfe and St. Mary and a member of the Government, Henry Westmorland, found that Underhill had painted a far too gloomy picture of the black population and of the colony generally. Unlike some districts in the island which were suffering from drought or other problems, his parish and his plantations were flourishing. Westmorland's labourers worked only half-days, and his properties were often short of labour. Another member of the Government, Dr. Hamilton, reinforced Westmorland's claim that in most

cases, the difficulty on plantations was to attract a sufficient number of workers. Hamilton also pointed to the success of many small settlers, especially in their production of crops such as ginger, honey and pimento. For Hamilton, the small settlers were "a thriving race, their number is rapidly increasing, the cultivation of minor products is augmenting and if in some districts distress does exist, it does not prevail as a general rule among the agricultural population".¹⁵

Others who replied to Eyre's request for information admitted that Jamaica's situation was very serious. However, they blamed the problem on the people themselves. Samuel Oughton, a Baptist missionary in Kingston, was aware of the widespread poverty in the island and the increase in crime. But Oughton did not believe that

these accumulated evils are to be wholly or principally attributed to excessive droughts, inability to obtain employment or dear salt fish and calico; ...the real cause in the great majority of cases is, in my opinion, only to be found in the inveterate habits of idleness, and the low state of moral and religious principles which prevail to so fearful a degree in our community.¹⁶

Eyre agreed. He believed that the poverty and crime in the colony was due to the apathy and indolence of the community. In responding to Underhill, the Colonial Office adopted this line. After carefully looking into Underhill's allegations, officials decided that the peasantry were "not suffering from any general or continuous distress from which they would not be at once relieved by settled industry".¹⁷

Much of the Jamaican press also adopted this approach to Underhill's letter. *The Colonial Standard* denounced Underhill's suggestions as "socialist doctrines of prevention" and claimed that the letter was full of misrepresentations. It maintained that the real problem was that "sugar does not pay as it ought, because the gentlemen of Mr. Underhill's stamp preach against slavery, and prefer to sweeten their tea with slave sugar to paying him one penny extra per pound for that which is produced by a man and a brother..."¹⁸ *The Guardian*, also a pro-planter newspaper, disputed Underhill's notion that the people were starving and claimed that the drought was hardly a new phenomenon for Jamaica. On the other hand, *The County Union*, a paper published in Montego Bay, agreed with Underhill's description of the distress in the country. Another independent newspaper, *The Sentinel*, maintained that there was a great deal of truth in Underhill's allegations, although it had reservations about some of the statements in the letter.¹⁹

However, it was the meetings which arose in the wake of Underhill's letter - rather than the views of the island's press or Eyre's correspondents - which would provide a better test of the people's assessment of the crisis facing Jamaica.

II

The first significant petition in 1865 was a memorial from the poor people of St. Ann to the Queen. Although Eyre maintained that it was the first public response to Underhill's letter, the petition was prepared before that letter appeared in the island press.²⁰ Nor was it the outcome of a large public meeting, as most of the subsequent petitions would be. The petition was nonetheless important: in it, the people of St. Ann complained about their inability to find work on the estates and about the low price of their alternative crop, pimento, which was not even worth harvesting. Since their own provision grounds were exhausted from overuse, the petitioners were forced to rent land. But the cost was exorbitant and there were other problems as well:

In many instances our provisions is [sic] destroyed by cattles, and if the proprietors find the most Simple fault, three months notice is given and we have to destroy our provisions, at the same time numbers of us having a large family of 11 or 12 children depending on the provisions for subsistence.

They appealed to the Queen to rent them Crown land at low rates; they would then

put our hands and heart to work, and cultivate coffee, corn, canes, cotton and tobacco and other produce [;] we will form a company for that purpose if our Gracious Lady Victoria our Queen will also appoint an agent to receive such produce as we may cultivate...²¹

The petition was sent to the Governor, who forwarded it to the Colonial Office. In his accompanying despatch, Eyre made his own views about the memorial very clear. He regarded it as the "first fruit" of Underhill's letter and expected others in a similar vein. For Eyre, they would have the effect of making the peasantry "discontented with their lot and disinclined to conform to the laws which regulate their taxation, their civil tribunals or their political status, all of which they have been informed are unjust, partial or oppressive".²²

Other petitions followed the St. Ann's petition, although they were the result of very different gatherings. As Abigail Bakan has suggested, these subsequent meetings provided a means of political expression which had been denied to the majority of the population (Bakan 1990: 76). The usual pattern was for a group of freeholders to ask the Custos of a particular parish to choose a time and a place for the meeting. The request from a group in the parish of St. David was typical:

We the undersigned Freeholders and other inhabitants of this Parish, respectfully request your honor will be pleased to grant us a place, and appoint a time, where we might meet for the purpose of expressing our sentiments in reference to the distressed condition of the

inhabitants occasioned by the drought and other causes, that we might adopt a memorial for presentation to Her Majesty's Government.²³

The freeholders generally signed their names, and several of these requests were published. In some cases, the Custos organized the meeting, advertised it in the press, and chaired it.

Several of these public meetings adopted broadly similar petitions. The memorials complained about the state of the island and some of its institutions, but were not highly critical of the plantocracy. At a large gathering representing the parishes of Clarendon and Manchester, the petitioners approved of Underhill's letter; at the same time, they sympathized with the plight of the planters. Their second resolution, for example, viewed "with alarm the continual decline of the proprietary body". Like those attending the Underhill meetings in St James and Hanover, they complained about the "crushing weight of taxation" and called on the British Government to establish an inquiry into the causes of Jamaica's decline. Similarly, the memorialists were concerned about the "unrighteous competition they have to maintain with the slave grown produce of Cuba"; accordingly they wanted Spain to observe her treaties with Britain regarding the slave trade.²⁴

The Underhill meeting in St. James was also held in May. A newspaper reporter described it as "so mixed and weighty a gathering - so solid a demonstration - never in our memory has been got together in this town". Prominent planters, merchants, and ministers were present as well as labourers, and the meeting was chaired by the Custos. As in Clarendon and Hanover, speakers voiced their concern about the high level of taxes, but here the attack was directed specifically against the House of Assembly. Wellesley Bourke, one of the members of the House from St. James, maintained that many assemblymen met "for one purpose - the perpetuation of taxes and an upholding of the corruption that involved the people, the planters, and the whole island, in one general poverty".²⁵

Like the attacks on the slave trade, these diatribes against the House won considerable support. For instance, two planters who could not attend the St. James meeting wrote to Bourke on the subject. In their view, "the evils we have most to fear [...] are the House of the Assembly and the present Executive Committee, in whom we may briefly say nine-tenths of the country [...] have no confidence".²⁶ Such statements expressed a concern for the state of the colony, but they clearly did not envision any significant changes in the social or political hierarchies in the island. The resolutions at the meeting in St. James did not threaten the status quo. But even at the meeting in St. James, and more importantly at other types of gatherings, there was a very different response to Underhill.

One of the speakers who followed Wellesley Bourke at St. James was the Baptist missionary, Rev. Edward Hewitt. But he claimed to be speaking as "a British subject and citizen of Jamaica" rather than as a Baptist. Hewitt had observed the growing poverty in the island; this was especially evident in the poorer clothing worn by his parishioners. His main attack, however, was directed against the high taxes in the island, which helped to support the Established Church. Hewitt added that "we are taxed enormously for Immigration purposes. All of you have to pay." This statement was immediately denied by a leading planter on the platform who, along with several others, then walked out of the hall. Although this temporarily disrupted the meeting, Hewitt carried on. He argued that "13,500 Immigrants have been brought to Jamaica and what good has this done for the country. It is you the labourers who ought to work and then you will prosper".²⁷

Hewitt's views were reinforced by another Baptist missionary, Rev. J.E. Henderson. He was concerned about the huge debt the colony owed, part of which had been created to import immigrant labour from India. Henderson asked:

Have they done any good? (Voices, "No, no, no.") Do they pay taxes? (Voices, "No, no, no.") The natives who are the labouring population are driven away from the estates, and coolies taken in their stead.²⁸

This anti-planter, anti-immigration line was not only taken up by Baptists. At the public meeting in Hanover, a planter was discussing the need to abolish the export duty on sugar and rum which had been imposed to help meet the costs of importing labour. At that moment, "as by a preconcerted signal, stentorian lungs gave forth, with a vigour and a power which were irresistible. '*No, no, they would have no immigration.*'"²⁹ The uproar continued when the next speaker, the clerk of the peace, suggested that the picture of distress in the island should not be exaggerated. According to one report:

The demonstration which followed this simple observation beggars description, and such as is never witnessed save at the closing scene of a strongly-contested and exciting election... Clenched fists were lifted above the crowd, and seemed to threaten the annihilation of any one who would dare to assert that the picture of poverty was capable of being overdrawn!³⁰

There were strong sentiments at some of these meetings, then, opposing the planters views on immigration and any attempts to counter the picture of distress in the island. But, elsewhere, the criticisms were not just limited to these issues.

There were a range of Underhill meetings which differed from the quasi-official ones in St James and Hanover. Also held in May and June, several of

these gatherings were organized by the Underhill Convention, a group of blacks who strongly supported Underhill's letter. The Convention appears to have been behind the meetings which took place in Kingston, Spanish Town, and St. David.³¹

The Underhill meeting in Kingston was chaired by George William Gordon, the most prominent opponent of Governor Eyre in the House of Assembly. Those who submitted resolutions included local preachers, some attached to the "Tabernacle", a native Baptist chapel Gordon had helped to establish in Kingston. There were also black politicians and other independent clergymen involved in the gathering, a group of people that a member of the administration later described as "political agitators".³²

The speakers at the meeting were generally hostile to the Government. For example, Rev. Edwin Palmer, a black Baptist missionary, complained that the

people were poor and destitute, the planters robbed them of their wages, that they were trampled under foot, the Government was oppressive, that the merchants in Kingston would employ none but white or coloured men in their stores which was a disgrace and a shame, that the time would soon come when they would be compelled to do it.

Palmer described a new law authorizing whipping as directed only at blacks and aimed at re-introducing slavery. He was not alone in such attacks. A vestryman from St. David, Samuel Clarke, reportedly warned the audience that whites could no longer "keep down negroes, and although you won't give us education we will show them that we shall yet have a position in the country".³³

While other speakers carried on in a similar vein, the resolutions adopted at the Kingston meeting provided strong support for Underhill as well as a radical critique of the Government and the ruling class in Jamaica. One resolution complained about the "class legislation" of the island and suggested that "the time has arrived when the masses of this country must speak out their woes, labouring as they do under many wrongs and disabilities..." The memorialists were also opposed to the enormous expenditure to import labour and pointed to "the systematic abnegation of every principle involving the Education of the Masses and other measures of a preventive and ameliorating character". The partial state of the law, the lack of jobs, the low wages, and the general distress in the colony: all came under their scrutiny. But what may have worried the authorities most was their call

upon all the descendants of Africa in every Parish throughout the Island, to form themselves into Societies and hold Public Meetings, and cooperate for the purpose of setting forth their grievances, especially now, when our philanthropic friends in England are leading the way.³⁴

The resolutions of the Kingston meeting were couched in much stronger language than those from St. James, Hanover, and Clarendon. There was more open defiance of the authorities and more demands for change. The petitions of the meetings in Spanish Town and St. David were less pointed but even more specific than those of their Kingston counterparts.

At the Spanish Town Underhill meeting, the resolutions centred on the desperate situation of the artisans and tradespeople of the town. Since so little work was available, many of them "have been compelled to leave their homes to seek employment in foreign climes, and many others are only deterred from doing so, because they do not know what is to become of their families in their absence". As in Kingston, the petitioners complained about the high import duties on raw materials and finished products; the duties made it almost impossible for local artisans to compete with mass manufactured goods imported from abroad. The memorial concluded by corroborating Underhill's statements about the state of the colony and by thanking the British philanthropists for their concern about Jamaica.³⁵

For Eyre, this meeting was a counterpart of the Kingston Underhill meeting. Some of the same black politicians who opposed the government, such as William Kelly Smith and Joseph Goldson, were prominent in both meetings. A vestryman for St. Catherine, A.C. Sinclair, was also very concerned about the Spanish Town meeting and regarded it as a "revolutionary gathering".³⁶ Yet the chairman of the meeting, A.H. Lewis, who was one of the representatives of the parish in the Assembly, described it as an orderly meeting without "the least attempt at any expression which could lead to disaffection".³⁷ Nonetheless, the meeting clearly sympathized with Underhill's letter.

The St. David's meeting also applauded Underhill's efforts on behalf of the island. But the petition was specifically concerned about the plight of the small settlers. One of the resolutions maintained that labourers on the estates were

not honestly and adequately paid for their labour; that great wrong and injury attends the small settlers in the destruction of their provision grounds by the unlawful and unrestricted freedom of large herds of cattle belonging to proprietors of estates and pens...

The memorial also complained about the lack of justice in the Jamaican courts: the petitioners believed that there was "a law for the rich and a law for the poor". To improve the situation generally for the small settlers as well as for the traders, the St. David's meeting suggested the establishment of an Island Agricultural Loan Bank or Joint Stock Company. Those at the gathering also called for the establishment of a committee known as the Central Communicating Committee "to correspond with the yeomen throughout the island on subjects of agriculture and other branches of native industry".³⁸

This meeting was marked by acrimony, especially toward the Custos of St. David, W.P. Georges. One of the resolutions described the Custos as "one of our bitterest enemies" and complained that Eyre had sought information on the Underhill letter from Georges. St. David, like St. Thomas in the East, was a politically divided parish. According to Georges, the Underhill meeting in St. David had been organized by his leading political opponent, Samuel Clarke, and "others who delight in Political Excitement".³⁹

Whatever the differences within the parish, however, these resolutions made it clear that there were serious problems between the planters and the small settlers. This was especially the case in the courts but also over the provision grounds of the labouring population. The treatment of estate workers was also taken up at an Underhill meeting in St. Mary in late June. In addition to airing some of the same issues as the Kingston and Spanish Town meetings, the St. Mary petitioners pointed to the "present low prices paid as wages to labourers... and that so tardily". This reinforced reports of estate workers being paid in arrears and sometimes kept waiting for months for their pay.⁴⁰

The series of Underhill meetings from April to late June clearly highlighted the crisis affecting Jamaica. No one doubted the impact of the drought or the result of the depressed sugar market. The repeated pleas about the lack of jobs, the plight of the small settlers, the low pay for estate work, and the state of the law should have alerted colonial officials to a different range of problems. But the reaction of the Governor as well as of the Colonial Office was to stigmatize the supporters of Underhill and to ignore some of the critical difficulties facing the island.

Many of the Underhill meetings appointed deputations to present their petitions to the Governor. Like several other groups, the representatives of the Kingston meeting were received by Governor Eyre, informed that he would forward their resolutions to the Colonial Office, and left in no doubt that the Governor could not support them.⁴¹ Writing to the Colonial Office just ahead of this meeting, Eyre made clear how much he differed from Underhill's supporters:

My own conviction is that the pressure which now undoubtedly exists amongst a portion of the population, and which from the long continuance of the drought has become intensified during the last few weeks, owes its origin in a great measure to the habits and character of the people, induced by the genial nature of the climate, the facility of supplying their wants in ordinary seasons at comparatively little exertion and their natural disposition to indolence and inactivity, and to remain satisfied with what barely supplies absolute wants.⁴²

The Colonial Office shared these views. Its response to the original petition of the poor people of St. Ann was drafted by the head of the West India Department, Henry Taylor. The Government's view was that

[...] the prosperity of the Labouring Classes as well as of all other classes depends in Jamaica, and in other Countries, upon their working for Wages, not uncertainly or capriciously, but steadily and continuously, at the times when their labour is wanted, and for so long as it is wanted, and that if they would use this industry, and thereby render the Plantations productive, they would enable the Planters to pay them higher Wages for the same hours of work than are received by the best Field Labourers in this Country... and they may be assured that it is from their own industry and prudence, in availing themselves of the means of prospering that are before them, and not from any such schemes as have been suggested to them, that they must look for an improvement in their condition.⁴³

Known as "The Queen's Advice", this document was widely circulated in Jamaica: 50,000 copies were disseminated in July to all parts of the colony.

Most copies of "The Queen's Advice" were distributed around the island without any apparent protest. However, a group of Baptist missionaries in St. James refused to circulate the document. They found that it was inapplicable to their parish and that the copies which had already been circulated had caused "an amount of irritation most painful to observe". Like many other people in the island, the missionaries did not believe that the Queen could have written the document. They believed that she "could never have addressed the suffering poor without one kind word of sympathy for them in their distress brought upon them by circumstances over which they had no control". Eyre dismissed these comments by portraying the Baptists as troublemakers who had participated in the Underhill meeting held at Montego Bay.⁴⁴

III

Conditions in Jamaica during the summer of 1865 did not improve. The drought continued in most parts of the island, and further gloomy predictions appeared in the press. In Vere, there was no work for the people and "stealing and starving in all directions". There was a serious question about maintaining control in the parish: *The County Union* reported that "a state of anarchy is gaining ground that will soon bid defiance to the civil power under its most energetic exercise".⁴⁵ The situation was no better in St. Elizabeth. A letter writer to *The Morning Journal* warned that if things did not change there, "a dire fate awaits Jamaica and her people".⁴⁶

As if to fulfill this prophecy, rumours of a conspiracy in western Jamaica began circulating in late July. At first, the targets were some of the leading planters in St. Elizabeth. One of them, Raynes Waite Smith, represented the parish in the Assembly and was a former member of the Government. A storekeeper near Smith's plantation had found an anonymous letter which attacked Smith. The letter claimed that the Queen had sent Smith a large

quantity of rice, but that he had either kept it for himself or used it to feed his Indian indentured labourers. Smith had also heard that some people planned to take over his large house; according to one rumour, the house "would do very well for them by-and-by".⁴⁷

This was only one of the elements of the conspiracy. The Custos of St. Elizabeth and president of the Legislative Council, John Salmon, wrote to Governor Eyre alerting him to rumours of an outbreak expected on August 1, the anniversary of Emancipation. Salmon believed that some of the people would resist paying taxes on that day or would seek to appropriate land.⁴⁸ These were not the only rumours about a forthcoming rebellion. Some small settlers in St. Elizabeth had informed a magistrate that a large group of blacks planned to proceed to Black River, the most important city in the parish. Once there, the women would take whatever they required from the shops.⁴⁹ A doctor living in the parish reported a variant of this story:

The storekeepers, for instance, said remarks were constantly dropped in their stores, such as when people came to buy a bit of cloth they would say, "You stop, August will soon come, and cloth will be cheap."⁵⁰

One of the causes of the threatened disturbance was a report that the Queen had sent a large amount of money for the people of St. Elizabeth to purchase land. However, the Custos had kept it for himself. Another was a continuing concern among ex-slaves about the possibility of being reenslaved. According to a Catholic priest who was familiar with western Jamaica, the fear of reenslavement was not limited to the people of St. Elizabeth but had spread through St. James and Westmoreland as well.⁵¹

The prospect of a rebellion prompted many families to flee to Black River for protection. By the end of July, they had come to believe that the blacks were intent on killing whites and browns.⁵² A doctor who worked among blacks in the parish, Alexander M'Gatty, reported that by that time "the parish was in a wild state of excitement."⁵³ The Custos was clearly very frightened; he was particularly worried about leaving his family on his plantation while he dealt with the situation at Black River. Salmon blamed the Underhill meetings for the threatened outbreak:

The general opinion among proprietors white, Colored and Black is that all this disturbance and ill feeling is to be attributed to the late assertions which have been made that the negroes are ill treated and cheated and unfairly dealt with and oppressed and that if permitted to be reiterated there will be no peace or security for property or life.⁵⁴

St. Elizabeth was not the only parish where trouble was expected at the beginning of August. The Custos of St. James, G.L. Phillips, informed Eyre that

he had received anonymous letters "conveying threats of Fire and Robbery" because of the prevailing high prices in the shops and the low wages paid on the plantations. One rumour predicted that the outbreak would begin in St. James, and another was that the leaders of the plot came from there as well.⁵⁵

Under these circumstances, Eyre requested that two men of war be sent to the affected areas, the first to Black River and the second to Montego Bay and Lucea. Although the Governor did not believe that an outbreak was likely, he thought it wise to take these precautions. In his correspondence with the commodore in charge of the fleet, Eyre suggested that "if the ships were to have a little gun practice in each of the Ports it might be useful in letting the Peasantry know of their presence".⁵⁶ Whether or not the threat was a real one, Salmon reported that the ship sent to Black River, the Bulldog, had achieved the desired result. All was quiet in the parish. At the very least, the visit of the Bulldog pleased many of the people in the parish who were allowed to inspect the vessel.⁵⁷

After a lull in early July, the Underhill meetings continued. The gatherings in August and September were similar to those organized by the Underhill Convention. Moreover, George William Gordon was heavily involved in these later meetings. In his newspaper, *The Watchman and People's Free Press*, and in a placard which appeared in St. Ann and in St Thomas in the East, Gordon actively encouraged the people in the two parishes to attend the meetings. To attract support in St. Ann, he made use of Underhill's letter, the poor people's petition of St. Ann, and the Government response to it:

People of St. Ann's,
 Poor people of St. Ann's
 Starving people of St. Ann's
 Naked people of St. Ann's.

You who have no sugar estates to work on, nor can find other employment, we call on you to come forth, even if you be naked, come forth and protest against the unjust representations made against you by Mr. Governor Eyre and his band of Custodes.⁵⁸

At the meeting itself in St. Ann, a native pastor who had also been involved in the Kingston meeting, Rev. James Crole, expressed great concern about the "oppressed, distressed, wretched and deplorable condition" of the mass of the population. In his view, the "oppressive system of Government" was the cause of their plight (Stewart 1983: 385).

Gordon used similar tactics to drum up support for the meeting in St. Thomas in the East. In the placard, he was particularly abusive toward the Custos, Baron von Ketelhodt, a German who had married an Englishwoman and settled in Jamaica:

People of St. Thomas ye East, you have been ground down too long already. Shake off your sloth, and speak like *honourable* and free men at your meeting [...] But can you and the inhabitants of St. Thomas ye East longer bear to be afflicted by this enemy to your peace - a Custos whose feelings are foreign to yours?⁵⁹

As in many other parishes in the island, Ketelhodt, as Custos of St. Thomas in the East, had been asked to have a public meeting on the state of the island. Although he had agreed to hold the meeting at the court house on August 12, Ketelhodt postponed it at the last minute. Nonetheless, the meeting was held in the market place opposite the court house.⁶⁰

Gordon chaired the meeting, which was attended by many men who were later implicated in the rebellion. For example, Paul Bogle, James McLaren, and Samuel Clarke were present and were among those who either proposed or seconded resolutions. A schoolmaster from Amity Hall in St. Thomas in the East, John Anderson, reported that this was not the only Underhill meeting in the parish. Anderson had been at an earlier such meeting at Stoakes Hall, and he had brought resolutions from that meeting to the larger gathering at Morant Bay. There is a possibility that this pattern of holding local gatherings which fed resolutions to the larger parish meeting was replicated elsewhere in the island.⁶¹

Some of the resolutions adopted at the Morant Bay meeting reiterated complaints which had been aired at other Underhill meetings. There was concern about the increasing level of taxes, the difficulties of finding employment, and the problem of low wages. As in the Kingston meeting, which Gordon also chaired, those present attacked "the oppressive nature of many of the Acts which have recently passed the Legislature of this island [and] are such as to create feelings of apprehension for the future well-being of society [...]" There was also considerable bitterness directed at the Custos for his "illegal and oppressive conduct towards the rights of the constituency of this parish and the island generally [...]". Ketelhodt's attempt to postpone the meeting was seen as "unconstitutional"; furthermore, the meeting concluded that "the generally arbitrary, illegal and inconsistent conduct of the Custos is destruction [sic] to the peace and prosperity of the affairs of the parish."⁶² The final Underhill meeting in Vere in early September would repeat some of these sentiments.

Gordon presided over the meeting at Vere, just as he had at several other Underhill meetings. Again, as in St. Thomas in the East, the Custos, Louis MacKinnon, refused to allow the meeting to take place in the court house. MacKinnon justified this stance by pointing out that "these meetings do an infinite deal of mischief" and allow men he considered agitators to gain notoriety. But the meeting, held in the town of Alley, went ahead in the open air under a large tree.⁶³

There are various versions of Gordon's speech at the meeting, which lasted upwards of an hour. But there is little doubt that Gordon strongly attacked the Governor using highly emotive language. In one report, Gordon called Eyre "a bad man" who "sanctions everything done by the higher class to the oppression of the poor negroes." Similarly, Gordon derided "The Queen's Advice": she would never have written such a document which was "all trash". He also complained about the lack of justice in the parish, about the low level of wages, and about the general poverty of the people. Indeed, Gordon had hoped to collect money for the Anti-Slavery Society but found that the people were too poor.⁶⁴

Similar statements had been made at other Underhill meetings, although it is possible that Gordon's language was stronger than usual on this occasion. What differentiated this speech from many others was Gordon's alleged statement encouraging revolution and invoking the dreaded image of Haiti. According to two bookkeepers working in Vere, Gordon concluded his speech by telling the audience that they should not be afraid of the consequences of attending the meeting:

I was told by some of you that your overseer said, that if any of you attended this meeting they would tear down your houses. Tell them that I, George William Gordon, say they dare not do it - it is tyranny, you must do what Hayti does; you have a bad name now, but you will have a worse then.⁶⁵

Gordon's remarks about Haiti were reported in the island press and also used as evidence in his court-martial at Morant Bay. In subsequent conversations on the subject, Gordon denied ever having brought up the example of Haiti. The report which appeared in *The County Union* and which was written by William March did not contain any such reference. But this version had been carefully scrutinised by Dr. Robert Bruce, the coroner for Vere, and one of the organizers of the Vere Underhill meeting. On the other hand, the report containing Gordon's alleged remark was prepared by men who were probably strongly opposed to Gordon's politics.⁶⁶

Whatever the truth of the allegation, it was widely believed that Gordon had raised the spectre of Haiti. Even Gordon's ally in Vere, Robert Bruce, claimed that he wrote to Gordon after the meeting making it clear that he did not like "the way [Gordon] spoke" and that he would not attend any more such meetings. Furthermore, Sidney Levien, the editor of *The County Union*, was also concerned about the possible consequences of the meeting. He wrote to Bruce that he wished "to shield you and them [the people of Vere] from the charge of anarchy and tumult, which in a short time must follow these fearful demonstrations."⁶⁷ Levien was not alone in expecting trouble. Col. Alexander Fyfe, the

stipendiary magistrate for St. David and a member of the Legislative Council, wrote an urgent letter in September to William Hosack, a member of the Executive Committee. In the letter, Fyfe warned the Government that it was "slumbering on a mine" but "did not seem to realize the danger [it] was in."⁶⁸

Yet the local Government as well as Whitehall remained unmoved either by the meetings or by the deteriorating conditions in the island. The Colonial Office response to the Underhill petition from Hanover arrived in Jamaica in September. In the despatch, the Colonial Office repeated its earlier homilies: it again counselled steady and continuous work.⁶⁹ In the face of an unyielding Government, it was becoming clear that the Underhill meetings could have little practical effect. Now that petitioning and peaceful meetings had failed, some people were preparing for war.

NOTES

1. This is a revised version of a paper first presented in March, 1986 at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London. I am grateful to participants at the seminar for their comments. The research for this paper was supported by the British Academy and the University of Warwick.
2. *The Falmouth Post*, 30 December 1864.
3. *The Colonial Standard and Jamaica Despatch*, 20 March 1865.
4. *The Falmouth Post*, 6 January 1865. See also resolution number 1 of the Underhill meeting held in Savanna-la-Mar in April: *The Sentinel*, 1 May 1865.
5. *The Falmouth Post*, 25 April 1865.
6. *The Falmouth Post*, 31 March 1865.
7. *The Colonial Standard and Jamaica Despatch*, 24 May 1865.
8. *The Falmouth Post*, 18 August 1865.
9. *The Falmouth Post*, 18 August 1865; *The Morning Journal*, 4 September 1865.
10. *The Morning Journal*, 20 March 1865. Underhill's letter was reprinted in (Underhill 1865). The quotations which follow are taken from Underhill's letter.
11. C.O. 137/388, Eyre to Cardwell, 2 March 1865, no. 40. Unlike Eyre, Lord Olivier, a later governor of Jamaica, supported Underhill's letter: see (Olivier 1936: 119).
12. C.O. 137/390, Eyre to Cardwell, 19 April 1865, no. 90: Hill to Austin, 15 March 1865.

13. C.O. 137/391, Eyre to Cardwell, 6 May 1865, no. 128: Report of the Baptist Union, 1 May 1865.
14. C.O. 137/390, Eyre to Cardwell, 12 April 1865, no. 90: Henry Clarke to the Bishop, 6 March 1865.
15. C.O. 137/390, Eyre to Cardwell, 19 April 1865, no. 90: Westmorland's remarks on Underhill's letter; C.O. 137/391, Eyre to Cardwell, 23 May 1865, no. 135: Dr. Hamilton's remarks on Underhill's letter.
16. C.O. 137/388, Eyre to Cardwell, 2 March 1865, no. 40: *Jamaica Guardian*, 25 February 1865.
17. C.O. 137/390, Eyre to Cardwell, 19 April 1865, no. 90; C.O. 137/391, Rogers to Underhill, 5 August 1865, attached to Eyre to Cardwell, 6 May 1865, no. 128.
18. *The Colonial Standard and Jamaica Despatch*, 2 May 1865; *Ibid.*, n.d., reprinted in *The Morning Journal*, 27 March 1865.
19. *Jamaica Guardian*, n.d., reprinted in *The Morning Journal*, 27 March 1865; *The County Union and Anglo-Jamaican Advertiser*, 24 March 1865; *The Sentinel*, 11 April 1865.
20. JRC, Evidence of Rev. Benjamin Millard, p. 782.
21. C.O. 137/390, Eyre to Cardwell, 19 April 1865, no. 90: The Humble Petition of the Poor People of Jamaica and parish of St. Ann.
22. C.O. 137/390, Eyre to Cardwell, 25 April 1865, no. 115.
23. *The Colonial Standard and Jamaica Despatch*, 12 June 1865.
24. *The Morning Journal*, 26 May 1865.
25. *The Morning Journal*, 26 May 1865.
26. *The Morning Journal*, 26 May 1865.
27. *The Morning Journal*, 27 May 1865.
28. *The Morning Journal*, 27 May 1865.
29. *The Falmouth Post*, 23 May 1865.
30. *The County Union*, 23 May 1865.
31. *The Morning Journal*, 16 June 1865.
32. JRC, Evidence of Henry Westmorland, p. 859.
33. Papers, p. 216.

34. *The Colonial Standard and Jamaica Despatch*, 6 May 1865.
35. *The Morning Journal*, 23 May 1865.
36. C.O. 137/391, Eyre to Cardwell, 7 June 1865, no. 143; *The Morning Journal*, 10 July 1865.
37. JRC, Evidence of A.H. Lewis, p. 839.
38. *The Colonial Standard and Jamaica Despatch*, 14 July 1865.
39. C.O. 137/392, Eyre to Cardwell, 12 July 1865, no. 174: The St. David Resolutions, 26 June 1865; Georges to Austin, 10 July 1865.
40. *The Morning Journal*, 6 July 1865; 29 June 1865.
41. *The Morning Journal*, 18 May 1865.
42. C.O. 137/391, Eyre to Cardwell, 6 May 1865, no. 128.
43. C.O. 137/390, Cardwell to Eyre, 14 June 1865, no. 222.
44. C.O. 137/392, Eyre to Cardwell, 22 August 1865, no. 210: Henderson, Dendy and Reid to Myers, 4 August 1865; C.O. 137/393, Eyre to Cardwell, 20 September 1865, no. 237: Henderson, Dendy and Reid to Jordon, 19 August 1865.
45. *The County Union*, n.d., reprinted in *The Morning Journal*, 17 July 1865.
46. *The Morning Journal*, 17 July 1865.
47. JRC, Evidence of Raynes Waite Smith, p. 744.
48. JRC, Evidence of Henry Westmorland, p. 857: Salmon to Eyre, 22 July 1865.
49. C.O. 137/392, Eyre to Cardwell, 7 August 1865, no. 198: Salmon to Eyre, 25 July 1865.
50. JRC, Evidence of Dr. Alexander M'Gatty, p. 666.
51. JRC: Evidence of Henry Westmorland, p. 857: Salmon to Eyre, 25 July 1865; Evidence of Rev. Joseph Woollett, p. 548.
52. JRC, Evidence of Thomas Wheatle, p. 599.
53. JRC, Evidence of Alexander M'Gatty, p. 667.
54. C.O. 137/392, Eyre to Cardwell, 7 August 1865, no. 198: Salmon to Eyre, 28 July 1865.
55. C.O. 137/392, Eyre to Cardwell, 7 August 1865, no. 198; Phillips to Austin, 26 July 1865; Smith to Salmon, 24 July 1865, private and confidential; JRC, Evidence of Henry Westmorland, p. 857: Salmon to Eyre, 22 July 1865.

56. C.O. 137/392, Eyre to Cardwell, 7 August 1865, no. 198; Eyre to Commodore Cracroft, n.d. See also Robotham 1981: 88.
57. C.O. 137/392, Eyre to Cardwell, 7 August 1865, no. 198; Salmon to Austin, 4 August 1865; Salmon to Capt. Wake, R.N., 4 August 1865.
58. JRC, Proceedings and Despatches on the trial of George William Gordon; *The Jamaica Watchman and People's Free Press*, 21 August 1865.
59. JRC, Proceedings and Despatches on the trial of George William Gordon; *The Jamaica Watchman and People's Free Press*, 21 August 1865.
60. *The Colonial Standard and Jamaica Despatch*, 21 July 1865; *The Jamaica Watchman and People's Free Press*, 21 August 1865.
61. JRC: Evidence of Henry Clyne, p. 735; Evidence of John Anderson, pp. 958-59. For example, there were two meetings in the parish of St. Elizabeth; see JRC, Evidence of Thomas Wheatle, p. 599.
62. JRC, Appendix, pp. 1156-57.
63. Papers, MacKinnon to Jordon, 27 September 1865, p. 230; JRC, Evidence of Joseph Williams, p. 852.
64. JRC: Evidence of James Humber, p. 444; Evidence of William March, pp. 888-89; Evidence of Dr. Robert Bruce, p. 730.
65. JRC, Evidence of James Humber, p. 444.
66. JRC: Evidence of James Ford, p. 388; Evidence of William March, pp. 888-90.
67. JRC, Evidence of Dr. Robert Bruce, p. 729.
68. JRC, Evidence of William Hosack, p. 925.
69. *The Falmouth Post*, 22 September 1865.

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DEVELOPMENT OF A PREHISTORIC INTERACTION SPHERE IN THE NORTHERN LESSER ANTILLES¹

INTRODUCTION

This paper identifies the development of a prehistoric interaction sphere among a specific cluster of northern Lesser Antillean islands, by examining physical geography, natural resources and archaeological remains. The islands used for this study are Anguilla, St. Martin-St. Maarten (hereafter to be referred to simply as St. Martin), Dog Island, St. Barthelemew (St. Barts) and their adjacent cays. It is suggested that the processes of divergent evolution and adaptive radiation increased the isolation of economic exploitation and social adaptations, thus allowing for the emergence of a cluster specific interaction sphere.

GEOGRAPHY AND NATURAL RESOURCES

In the northern Lesser Antilles we can identify certain characteristics of the physical geography that offer potential buffers between various segments of the area (see figure 1). Clarke (1968:252) had early noted the importance of ecological zonation in separating and isolating localized subculture strategies for adaptation.

Figure 1 illustrates potential area boundaries or buffers in the northern Lesser Antilles based on physical geography. Each of these Lesser Antillean island clusters contains only one site representing the "seed" or propagule colonization by the earliest Ceramic Age peoples who lived at inland, riverine locations (such as, Hope Estate, Cayon, St. Georges, Sorcé, Hacienda Grande, and Indian Creek). The Ceramic Age having been defined by Rouse and Allaire (1978) as

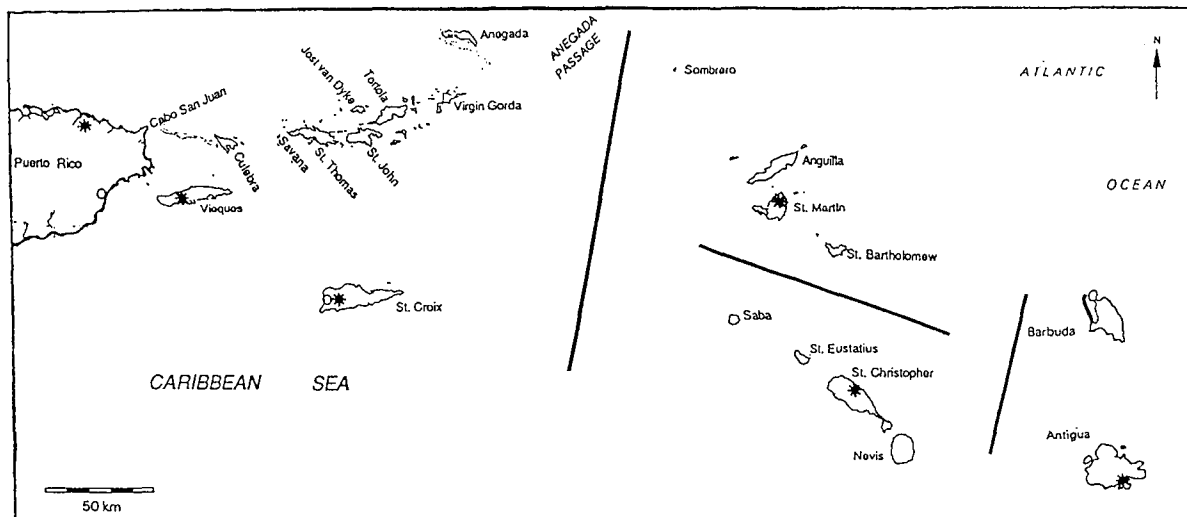


FIGURE 1. The geography of the northern Caribbean

| = suggested buffer zones

* = earliest Ceramic Age inland riverine sites

O = earliest Ceramic Age coastal sites

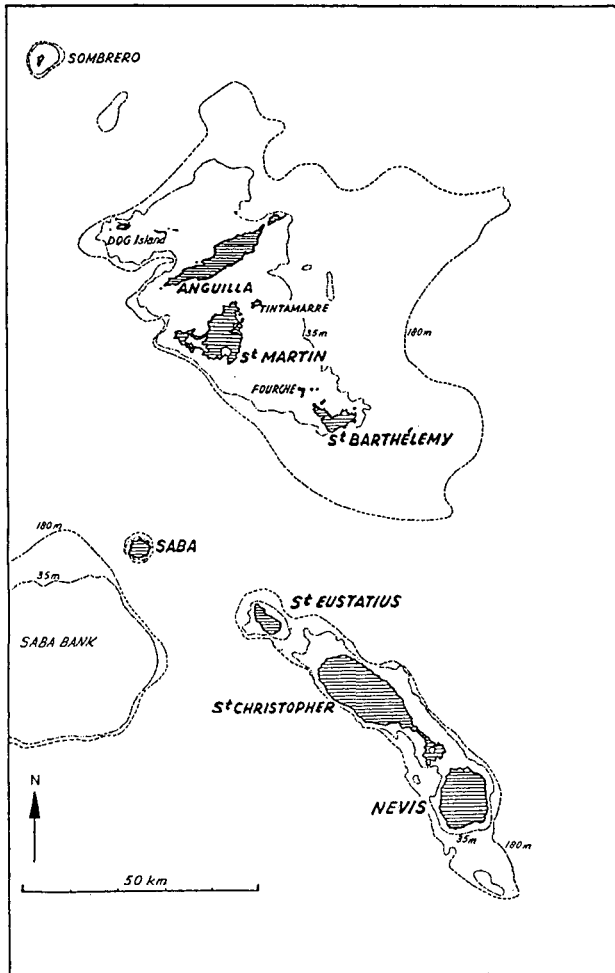


FIGURE 2. Sketch map of the submarine contours in the northern Lesser Antilles at the 35m. and 180m. isobaths (after Wagenaar Hummelinck 1953:103)

the prehistoric period of technological development representing the beginning of ceramics manufacture to the contact with Europeans. One must keep in mind that these site distribution patterns are based on presently available data, and that still unrecorded sites may exist. Due to the different ecological conditions encountered within the larger landmasses and increased resource availability of the Greater Antilles, it is the focus of this paper to only deal with the smaller islands of the northern Lesser Antilles.

The four primary islands of this study area (St. Martin, Anguilla, St. Barts, Dog Island) are emergent features of a larger submerged landmass along the 35m. isobath (see figure 2), with St. Martin, Anguilla and Dog Island atop a higher platform along the 20m. isobath (see figure 3). This landmass became partially submerged in Holocene times, after having been exposed during Pleistocene periods of low sea level (Westermann 1949:49). With few archaeological materials available from St. Barts, and its geographic separation, this study focuses on the other three islands.

St. Martin (86 sq.Km.) belongs to the Antillean Islands Outer Arc formation and has no young volcanic formations; it is typically a mountainous build-up of ancient, hard volcanic rocks with porphyrite and quartz-diorite intrusions (Christman 1953; Veenenbos 1955). On the SW peninsula of St. Martin there is a unique formation of marine-sedentary marls and limestones called the Lowlands. The primary sand beaches of St. Martin are located around the Lowlands and connecting the Lowlands to the main body of the island; also, several ancient lagoons around the island have been enclosed by sand bars. The soil formations on St. Martin are mostly shallow, lithosolic Descalabrado clay-loam soils in the volcanic areas, with very different Aguilita soils and pockets of Sion soils on the soft limestone of the Lowlands (Veenenbos 1955:43). The Aguilita soils of the Lowlands, which are high in phosphate and potash, have supported sweet potato, yam, corn, pumpkin and cassava cultivation (Veenenbos 1955:46-49). The vegetation on the main body of St. Martin is mostly semi-deciduous seasonal forest and dry scrub woodland, whereas in the Lowlands there are mostly xerophytic plants (Veenenbos 1955:23). There is a strong probability that prehistoric St. Martin supported substantially larger trees at the higher elevations, as was noted in the 17th century (Coppier 1645:37). According to Wagenaar Hummelinck (1981:91-93) there are two major permanent, non-flowing ground water surface locations on St. Martin, at Devils Hole and near Puits des Terres Basses. He further indicates, however, that there are four large, flowing sources of ground water on St. Martin at Ravine Colombier, Ravine Carede, Cul de Sac (Dutch), and Ravine du Paradis (1981:83-86), as shown in figure 3.

Anguilla (91 sq.Km.) is a very low, flat island almost exclusively of limestone overlaying volcanic rocks equivalent to the formations on St. Martin (Watters

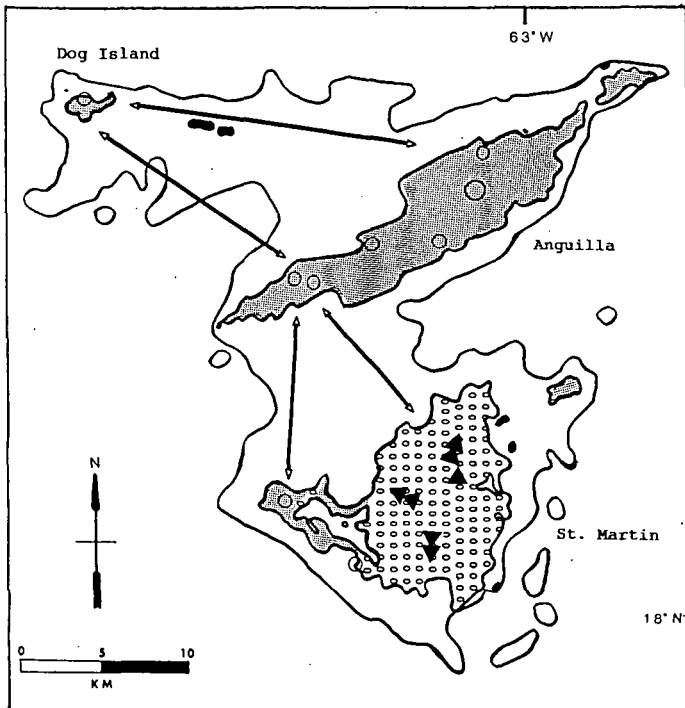


FIGURE 3. Geographic features and potential natural resources in the Anguilla-St. Martin-Dog Island area

- ○ ○ = volcanic derivative surface soils
- = limestone derivative surface soils
- ◄ ◄ = primary flowing water source access
- = primary standing water source access
- ◄ ◄ = high potential reef use areas
- = 20m. isobath (from Watters and Rouse 1989)

1989:6). The primary sand beaches on Anguilla are along the north and south coasts on the western part of the island (Watters 1989:8). The soils on Anguilla appear to be similar to the Aguilita and Sion soils of the St. Martin Lowlands. Modern cultivation is presently concentrated in the central and western parts of the island (Harris 1965:40). The dominant vegetation of Anguilla is very degraded evergreen woodland (Harris 1965:41-42). The ground water sources of Anguilla are the most abundant of any of the islands covered in this study, with five open, permanent, non-flowing access locations (Forest Point, Bedneys Spring, Meads Bay Spring, and Badcox Pond) and one site associated with a cave at Fountain Cavern (Wagenaar Hummelinck 1981:90-91). Interestingly, there are no known large bodies of flowing ground water on Anguilla (Wagenaar Hummelinck 1981:83-86).

Dog Island is a very small island (± 2 sq.Km.) with geology similar to Anguilla, although proportionately more volcanic rocks are exposed at Dog Island. There are four sand beaches on the island, with a concentration in the south coast area (TAMS 1979). The vegetation of Dog Island is primarily xerophytic. Hummelinck reports one non-flowing ground water location near the north coast of Dog Island, and no flowing water locations (1981:90).

The primary reef areas around these islands are between western Anguilla and NW St. Martin, and a 15 km-long reef ridge extending from NE Anguilla to Dog Island (Watters 1989:6). There are various indigenous faunal groups on and around these islands (Wing and Rietz 1982:25). The 107 species of birds on St. Martin (Voous 1983:231) exceeds the number on the other two islands. The larger lagoon areas on St. Martin also have a greater quantity of estuary animals, such as marine molluscs, including 252 species of gastropods at St. Martin (Coomans 1963:85) and land crabs. The sand beaches on these islands would have been potential egg-laying sites for sea turtles, while the reefs offered primary fishing areas. It is important to note that Dog Island, with few natural resources other than marine resources, is located at one end of a 15 km-long reef extending to Anguilla.

The location of these three islands is such that Anguilla is centrally located, with Dog Island about to the northwest and St. Martin about 8-10 km. to the south (see figure 3).

CULTURAL BACKGROUND

Archaic Age

The initial human inhabitation of the St. Martin-Anguilla area was probably during the Archaic Age. The Archaic Age is defined by Rouse and Allaire

(1978) as the prehistoric technological stage representing the beginning of ground stone/shell work to the introduction of ceramics. This is evidenced by two probable Archaic Age sites noted on the north and NE coasts of Anguilla, at Crocus Bay and the Ab-n-dam cave (Dick et al. 1980:36; Douglas 1991:3). Watters, however, is doubtful of a confirmed Archaic presence on Anguilla (personal communication 1989). Douglas (1991:3) recently reported a shell celt found at the Ab-n-dam cave that was radiocarbon dated to about 1300 B.C. Interestingly, no Archaic Age sites have as yet been confirmed on St. Martin (Haviser 1988:5). The Archaic peoples had a hunter-fisher-gatherer subsistence system and a Band level socio-cultural system (Service 1979:4). In the eastern and southern Caribbean, sites of the Archaic Age are consistently noted in association with the littoral zone, mangroves and at caves and rock shelters.

Ceramic Age

The initial ceramic-producing, horticultural peoples in this area are of the earliest known for the Lesser Antilles, and began to occupy St. Martin about 560 B.C. There is a single site, Hope Estate on St. Martin, which represents the early Ceramic Age from about 560-300 B.C. (Haviser 1991). This same site continued to be inhabited during the entire Early Saladoid period from about 300 B.C. to 300 A.D., and into the Late Saladoid period from about 300-600 A.D. The Saladoid period is a specific, archaeologically defined, prehistoric culture group in the Caribbean, recognized by an assemblage of distinctive ceramic traits called the Saladoid Series. It is not the subject of this paper to discuss the origin of the earliest Ceramic Age peoples and their possible distinction from the Early Saladoid peoples, only to note that for this study these two initial groups are referred to together as "Early Saladoid". For this study, the Early Saladoid represents a time period from about 560 B.C. to 300 A.D., whereas the Late Saladoid is considered from about 300-600 A.D.

During the Early Saladoid period, the subsistence system focused heavily on terrestrial faunal resources such as land crabs, birds, and rodents. The few marine resources exploited during this period were fish, together with a limited use of sea turtles and littoral molluscs. Manioc was apparently the primary horticultural product.

The distribution of major settlements belonging to the Early Saladoid, albeit rare in the Caribbean, is quite consistent in location placement. Sites like those at Hope Estate (Haviser 1991), Sorcé (Chanlatte-Baik 1983), St. Georges (Faber Morse 1989), Cayon (Goodwin 1979), Hacienda Grande (Roe 1985), and Indian Creek (Rouse 1974) are all situated on elevated terraces, inland from the coast and adjacent to flowing water sources. This settlement pattern is quite distinctive from that of the Late Saladoid period, when sites were located in coastal settings

on lower elevation plains, and associated with both seasonal flowing and standing water sources. Such sites as Sugar Factory Pier (Goodwin 1980), Pearls (Bullen 1964), Golden Rock (Versteeg and Effert 1989), Hichmans (Wilson 1989) and Prosperity (Faber Morse 1989) are a few examples. The Late Saladoid subsistence systems also exhibit a shift towards a more marine-oriented focus on fish, shellfish and turtles. The exploitation of land crabs was minimal, while some limited bird and rodent capture was still practiced. Manioc was still the predominant horticultural product. Siegel (1991) has pointed out the potential for ancestor cults and socio-political complexity emerging in the Antilles during the Late Saladoid period.

In the St. Martin-Anguilla area, as mentioned above, Late Saladoid occupation at Hope Estate (St. Martin) represents a continuum of the Early Saladoid one (see figure 4). There are also two sites on the SW coast of Anguilla where Late Saladoid artifacts have been reported, as surface evidence at Maundays' Bay (Dick et al. 1980:36) and in the deepest stratigraphic context at Rondevous Bay (Douglas 1991:8). For this study, these sites are being treated as having a Late Saladoid component, even though Watters (personal communication 1989) considers Rondevous Bay to have been only of limited use during this period. He does agree, however, that this site is the best candidate for a Saladoid presence on Anguilla. It is interesting to note the convergence into paired sites on Anguilla at this period. Keegan has noted paired sites in the Bahamas and suggested they may represent a change from matrilocality to avunculocal residence patterns, as an initial stage of chiefdom development (Keegan 1990:8).

Following the Saladoid initial migrations and settlement in the Caribbean, there followed localized development of cultural patterns, as a result of divergent evolution (Flannery and Marcus 1983). These localized groups were adapting to specific regional resources, which in turn created systems of interaction which were also more strongly localized among themselves than with their neighbors further away (Rouse 1989:392). In the area from eastern Puerto Rico, west and south to about Guadeloupe, one such regional group is called the Elenan-Ostionoid (Rouse 1987:10). This paper identifies a more specific localized subgroup in the St. Martin-Anguilla island cluster, within the greater Elenan-Ostionoid area. The period is called the Post-Saladoid, and refers to a time range from about 600 A.D. until contact with the Europeans.

The Post-Saladoid peoples of the Lesser Antilles had a primarily marine-oriented subsistence, supplemented by manioc and possibly maize cultivation, quite similar to that of the Late Saladoid in character, but populations had apparently increased. There are indications of developed socio-religious systems during this period, which were manifested in the manufacture of Zemis and in more complex socio-political organization and chiefdoms, such as seen among

the Taino of the Greater Antilles (Siegel 1989; Wilson 1990). Zemis were the deities of the Saladoid and Post-Saladoid peoples represented as carved amulets and statues. The distribution of Zemis was noted by Rouse (1989:383) as a method for chiefs to gain political power, which had its origins in the Saladoid

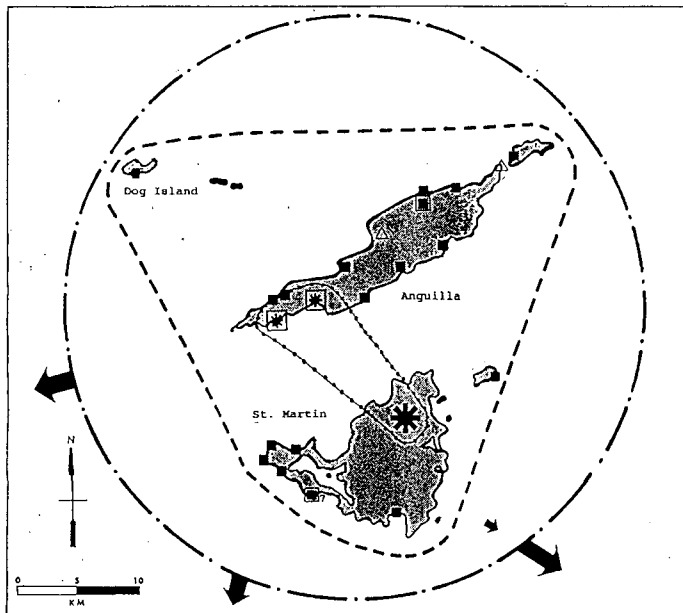


FIGURE 4. Early Saladoid, Late Saladoid and Post-Saladoid development and interaction spheres between St. Martin-Anguilla-Dog Island

- * = Early Saladoid and Late Saladoid component site
- * = Late Saladoid and Post-Saladoid component sites
- = Post-Saladoid primary settlements
- = Post-Saladoid shrine cavern sites
- △ = probable Archaic Age sites
- = Late Saladoid settlements, interaction sphere
- - - = localized Post-Saladoid settlements, interaction sphere
- · · = regional Post-Saladoid interactive extensions

period. Another aspect of the developed religious systems of this period seems to have been the creation of shrine caverns decorated with carved statues and petroglyphs, as noted on Anguilla at the Fountain Cavern (Watters 1987) and supposedly at the Maho cavern, St. Martin (Dubelaar 1985).

The distribution of Post-Saladoid sites in the Lesser Antilles consists most often of large villages, regularly spaced along the coastline near major reefs, and often associated with standing water sources (Goodwin 1979; Wilson 1989; Watters 1980). In the St. Martin-Anguilla area there are 19 primary Post-Saladoid sites, all in regularly-spaced coastal settings. There are five sites on St. Martin, four of which are clustered together in the western Lowlands (Haviser 1988). There is one primary site each on Ile Tintemarre (Haviser 1988), and Scrub Island (Douglas 1986), and a large site on Dog Island (TAMS 1979). Anguilla has the most abundant and largest Post-Saladoid sites in the area, with 11 primary sites, of which seven are clustered on the western half of the island (Dick et al. 1980, AAHS 1986). Figure 4 displays the distribution of these Post-Saladoid sites in relation to their geographic position and other period sites in the St. Martin-Anguilla area. Figure 5 illustrates the spatial and temporal position of the largest Ceramic Age sites in this study area. At this time there are but two prehistoric sites reported for St. Barts, a small site at the airport (Bullen 1973:82) and a large site at Saline Bay (Douglas 1986:51). Both are suggested to be of the Post-Saladoid period.

At the time of European colonization of St. Martin, no Amerindians were living on the island (Laet 1630:38). For St Barts and Anguilla there is mention of a raid, by Carib peoples, to these islands in 1656 (Southey 1968). All of the houses on Anguilla were burned and female slaves taken; it is unclear if this included Amerindian women and houses.

An important direction for future research will be to investigate several other island clusters in the Lesser Antilles where possibly similar local developments occurred, such as at St. Kitts-Nevis-Statia-Saba (see figure 5), and Antigua-Barbuda. Watters and Rouse (1989) have suggested a possible interaction among those islands. In figure 6, the settlement history progress of these island clusters is shown, with the contours being different periods of settlement expansion.

DEMOGRAPHY

In relation to the temporal and spatial distribution of settlements within this study area, human population growth and expansion are critical factors. Hassan's (1981) general principle that settlement density (reflected by site surface area) can be used to calculate population density is used here. Two regionally-

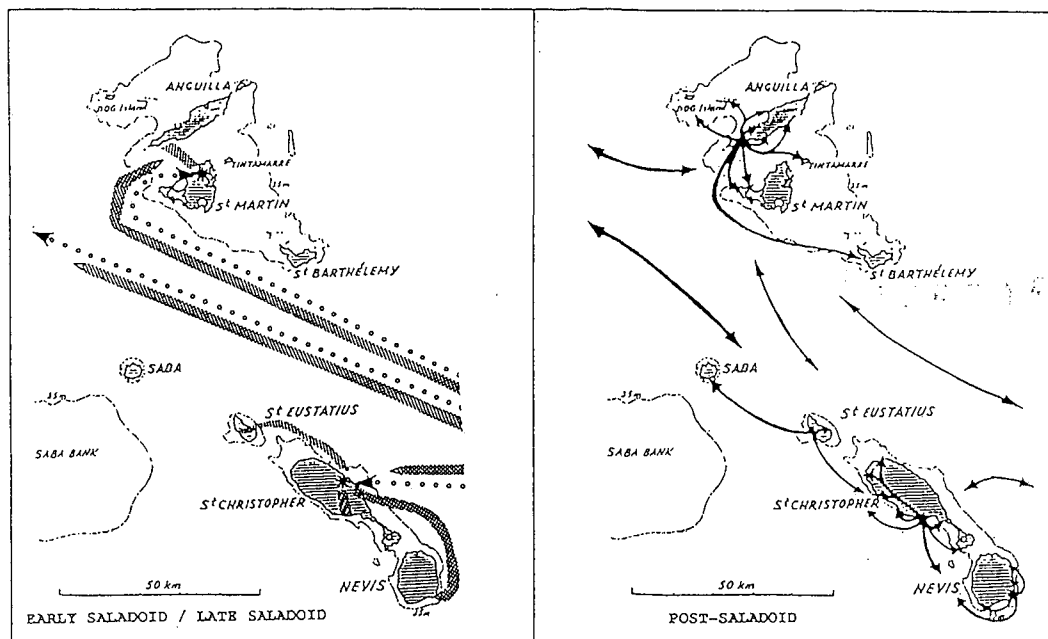


FIGURE 5. Spatial and temporal development of settlements during the Ceramic Age in the northern Lesser Antilles

..... = Early Saladoid (± 500 B.C. to ± 300 A.D.)

▨ = Late Saladoid (± 300 A.D. to ± 600 A.D.)

↔ = Post-Saladoid (± 600 A.D. to ± 1400 A.D.)

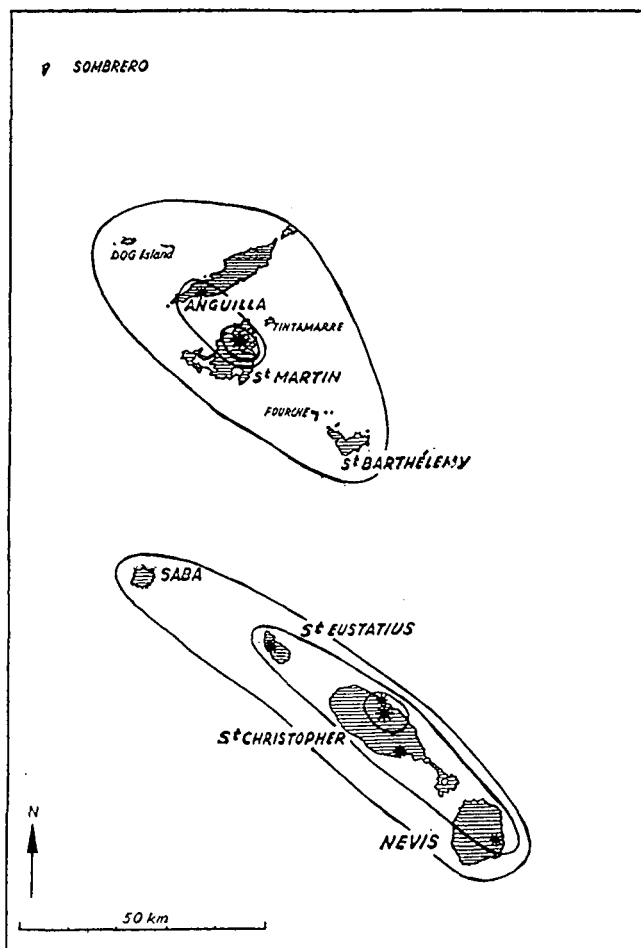


FIGURE 6. Periods of settlement expansion by localized Ceramic Age peoples in the northern Lesser Antilles. Contours relate to Early Saladoid, Late Saladoid, and Post-Saladoid localized interaction spheres.

* - Early Saladoid sites

* - Late Saladoid sites

developed population-estimate models have been applied to the primary settlements of different temporal periods in this study. The first is based on Roosevelt's (1980:217-25) investigation of prehistoric settlements along the Orinoco River, and subsequent calculation of 75 persons per hectare of site-surface area. The other model was developed by Keegan (1985:250-54) for the Bahamas, and implies that site surface area can be converted into house numbers which can then be multiplied by an average number of persons per house. Keegan used site length as his control variable and calculated that .03 houses per meter of site length was consistent with the Bahama evidence. By using Guarach's (1973) conservative estimate of 20 persons for each household, Keegan established that .06 persons ($20 \text{ persons/house} \times .03 \text{ house/meter length}$) times the metric length of the site surface would result in a population estimate. These house/persons estimates also generally fit the house size identified at the Golden Rock site on St. Eustatius (Versteeg 1987:32), where Siegel (1989:211) has suggested about 30 persons in residence at the largest structure.

The site surface area measurements for St. Martin, Anguilla, and Dog Island were conducted by different researchers, which may have influenced comparative accuracy; it is the authors' opinion, however, that these discrepancies are minimal. Other factors which effect population estimates are the possibility of intermittent site occupation, and site omissions due to natural or artificial destruction. Thus, these population estimates are presented merely as a reference to be used in a general context, and not to be accepted as precise demographic statistics.

Table 1 presents the site surface areas of the primary Post-Saladoid, Late Saladoid, and Early Saladoid settlements on Anguilla, Dog Island, and St. Martin. These data have been applied to both the Roosevelt and Keegan models for population estimation. Due to the areal rather than linear nature of the raw data, a minimum potential site-length maximum was calculated for the Keegan model and thus those numbers are consistently smaller than the Roosevelt estimates.

For the Early Saladoid period, only a single inland site at Hope Estate (St. Martin) is representative of this initial colonization in the area. Based on these data, there was an estimated population of about 40-50 people living in two houses at that site during this period.

For the Late Saladoid period, we see evidence of a regular, exponential population increase and subsequent fissioning of the population, with half of the group remaining at Hope Estate and half leaving to establish new settlements at Rendezvous Bay and Maundays Bay in SW Anguilla. Due to Watters' reservations as to the intensity of use of Anguilla during the Saladoid period, I have been cautious to apply only 25% of the site area for the Saladoid component calculation. Based on these calculations, the total Late Saladoid

TABLE 1. DEMOGRAPHIC ESTIMATES FOR ANGUILLA-ST. MARTIN-DOG ISLAND

Site	approx. ha. site area	approx. m. site length	RM* pop.	KM* pop./houses
EARLY SALADOID				
St. Martin:				
Hope Estate	.70 (100%)	70	53	42/2
LATE SALADOID				
Anguilla: 25% totals	(50%)			
Rendezvous Bay	.51	50	38	30/2
Maundays Bay	.20	20	15	12/1
St. Martin:	(50%)			
Hope Estate	.70	70	53	42/2
LATE SALADOID TOTALS =	1.41 (100%)	-	106	84/5
POST-SALADOID				
Anguilla:				
Sandy Hill Bay	2.42+	240	182	144/7
Rendezvous Bay	2.02	200	152	120/6
Shoal Bay East	2.02	200	152	120/6
Forest North	1.21	120	90	75/4
Sandy Ground	1.00+	100	75	60/3
Maundays Bay	.81	80	61	50/2.5
Meads Bay	.81	80	61	50/2.5
Barnes Bay	.81	80	61	50/2.5
Lockrum Bay	.81	80	61	50/2.5
Island Harbour Pt	.40	40	30	25/1
Scrub Island	-	-	-	-
Anguilla totals=	12.31 (72%)	-	925	744/37
Dog Island:	2.40 (14%)	240	181	144/7
St. Martin:				
Cupecoy Bay	.60	60	45	35/2
Red Bay	.60	60	45	35/2
Pt Terres Basses	.60	60	45	35/2
Plum Bay	.30	30	23	20/1
Great Bay	-	-	-	-
Ile Tintemarre	.30	30	23	20/1
St. Martin totals =	2.40 (14%)	-	181	145/7
POST-SALADOID TOTALS =	17.13 (100%)	-	1281	1028/51

RM* = Roosevelt Model for population estimate, 75 persons/ha.

KM* = Keegan Model for population estimates, .6 times site length

Sources: Anguilla areas, Douglas et al. 1986, with + revised 1988.

St. Martin areas, Haviser 1988. Dog Island areas, TAMS 1979.

population is estimated to have reached about 80-100 persons, almost equally split between the islands, with probably three houses on Anguilla and two on St. Martin.

It was during the Post-Saladoid period that an apparent population explosion occurred. The distribution of primary settlements during this period exhibits a regular, equal spacing from each other all in coastal settings; however, there is an extremely unequal distribution among the islands. As can be seen in table 1, Anguilla resulted in 72% of the total Post-Saladoid sites surface area, which equates with a similar population ratio, whereas the very different resource potentials of St. Martin and smaller Dog Island have equal estimated populations at 14% each for this period. From these estimates it would seem that there were probably about 37 houses and 750-950 people on Anguilla, and about 7 houses and 140-180 people on St. Martin and Dog Island, respectively.

Due to the variable densities and discriminant distribution of these settlements, the Post-Saladoid period offers the greatest potential for a developed interaction sphere between St. Martin, Anguilla, and Dog Island. This data will now be examined together with the geographic area, resource distribution, and cultural aspects previously mentioned.

INTERPRETATION

The physical evidence noted here relates to both ecological conditions and archaeological remains found in the St. Martin-Anguilla-Dog Island cluster. The configuration of these islands is such that western Anguilla is the central location, and following the principle of Least-Cost Theory (Fritz and Plog 1970) thus offers the best location for utilization of the entire area.

Soils in this area are basically separated into two categories: those on volcanic rocks, where forests can be found, as on the main part of St. Martin; and those soils on limestone formations where agriculture can be better conducted, as on most of Anguilla, the St. Martin Lowlands, and Dog Island. The lithic sources can also be separated into the same two locations, with St. Martin having the only deposits of porphyrite and quartz-diorite among the islands, as well as the majority of basalts in the area. The Lowlands, Anguilla, and Dog Island have mostly limestone sources.

Of some significance is the unequal distribution of, and access to, flowing and non-flowing water among these islands. St. Martin, with higher elevations, has the only flowing ground water sources in the area, yet only two major non-flowing sources both in the Lowlands. Anguilla and Dog Island have only non-flowing water source access, but larger quantities of water are available in central and western Anguilla than on any of the other islands.

The primary subsistence resources for this area can be related to several different ecological niches. Marine resources such as fish are most abundant among the reef areas. The large reef areas are located between western Anguilla and St. Martin, and as a 15 km reef ridge stretching from north-central Anguilla to Dog Island. Sea turtles could have been captured at sea, or more easily at sand beaches during their egg-laying periods. The major sand beaches of Anguilla are all around the western half of the island, whereas on St. Martin the more abundant beaches are those connecting the main body to the Lowlands and around the Lowlands themselves. There are also sand beaches on Dog Island, mostly on the southern coast. It should be pointed out here that sand beaches also offer the best canoe-landing locations for these islands. The lagoon-estuary systems on these islands can provide substantial food resources, such as land crabs, shellfish, fish, and birds, and there are natural salt deposits as well. The largest and most plentiful lagoon-estuary systems in this area are found on St. Martin, particularly Simpson Lagoon of the Lowlands. The number of terrestrial animals among these islands is small but relatively similar.

The Archaic Age sites in this study area are very poorly represented with only two sites reported, both in north NE Anguilla and associated with caves. It is of some interest to note the position of these sites as well away from the primary Ceramic Age settlements.

The Ceramic Age settlements agglomeration in this study area follows closely the three stage Hudson Theory (1969), with an initial colonization at an individual site, then population increase necessitating only short distance movement, and finally increased density and regularity of settlement spacing. In this area, the earliest Ceramic Age peoples moved into an inland setting near flowing water access, depending on consumption of land crabs, terrestrial fauna, and manioc, in a distinguished pattern from that of all other periods. The earliest site (Hope Estate) was located in the higher elevations of St. Martin; later peoples, of the Saladoid period, either stayed at Hope Estate or moved to the coastal settings of Rondezvous Bay/Maundays Bay on Anguilla. This locational shift as an adaptive strategy may have been influenced to some extent by new immigrants moving northward.

The Post-Saladoid peoples experienced a substantial population increase. This may well relate to new cultigens such as maize added to the diet; the physical data are, however, yet inconclusive. The distribution of settlements is such that the majority of the population appears to have lived on Anguilla, and primarily in regularly-spaced coastal settlements in the western half of the island. The primary Post-Saladoid sites on St. Martin are located as regularly-spaced coastal settlements in the Lowlands. Only one primary Post-Saladoid site was noted on Dog Island. There have been two primary ceremonial caverns noted on these

islands, both from the Post-Saladoid period. One of these caverns is at the Lowlands of St. Martin (Maho) and the other on Anguilla (Fountain Cavern). Of some interest is the fact that on St. Martin, petroglyphs are also noted at Hope Estate, and at another flowing water source at Moho valley. The largest early Post-Saladoid site in the entire study area is found at Rendezvous Bay, Anguilla.

When looking to the macro-environmental aspects of the northern Lesser Antilles, we can refer to the processes of adaptive radiation (Sahlins and Service 1960:51); to the importance of ecological factors in determining boundaries (Barth 1969:18); to the importance of zones between the edges of territorial units (Kimes, Hasselgrove & Hodder 1982:128); and to the importance of frontiers to alleviate tensions between neighbors (Chagnon 1973:136), such that the lack of a frontier creates the need to select larger local groups and more elaborate alliance patterns among neighbors. All of these factors combined can provide us with a seaward perspective of Lesser Antillean island clusters as distinctive interaction spheres.

Some more specific details of the St. Martin-Anguilla area can be noted with respect to the unique inland settlement and subsistence pattern of the earliest colonizers, as distinct from the coastal adaptations of the later inhabitants. Numerous authors have theorized as to the cause of this shift (Rainey 1940; Carbone 1980; Goodwin 1980; Keegan 1985; Jones 1985; deFrance 1989). Due to the presence of a single propagule colony in each of the proposed island cluster areas, which also contain distinctive artifact characteristics (Haviser 1991), these early settlement patterns are suggested as relating to the initial influences of the earliest Ceramic Age peoples as distinctive within the Saladoid, and possibly even different from the Saladoid. An interesting note is that the Saladoid only added land crabs to their diet after reaching the northern Lesser Antilles (Watters and Rouse 1989:136). As well, Lathrap (1973:192) notes the more ancient branches of Macro-Arawakan tend to be near river headwaters, while the later Maipuran-Arawakan are more on broad, large streams. This could be a significant association reflecting the differential preference for elevated situations near flowing water at early sites (St. Martin), and lower elevation settlement near standing water for the later periods (Anguilla). The greater availability of water on Anguilla would certainly have given that island some priority, not only for the drinking needs of an increasing population but also for increased crop production. The proportional abundance of soils suitable for manioc and maize cultivation on Anguilla would complement greater access to water.

As noted earlier, the settlement on Dog Island seems to have had a specialized use as a fishing outpost associated with a large reef ridge. The Post-

Saladoid sites on St. Martin also suggest an outpost-like specialized use of the Lowlands, with regularly-spaced, smaller settlements having access to beaches, reefs, and lagoon-estuary systems, as well as available to large trees at the higher elevations and volcanic lithic sources on the island. The Lowlands of St. Martin offered the greatest potential area of St. Martin for a consistent Post-Saladoid settlement pattern trend as noted on Anguilla, with the addition of some unique resources. As Hodder (1979:446) has pointed out, the greater the competition between groups for resources, the greater the likelihood that material culture will play a part in the maintenance of internal cohesion. This point should be considered with respect to the evidence that almost all Anguillan Zemies are made of a lithic material distinctive of St. Martin (porphyrite), and that there was a shift from the earliest occupation on St. Martin to Late-/Post-Saladoid on Anguilla, at a period when Siegel has identified ancestor cult worship via Zemies. This geographic shift is coupled with paired settlements on Anguilla, which Keegan suggested may indicate changing social structure and evolving chiefdoms. As well, Allaire (1990) notes that there may have been affiliations between the Taino chiefdoms of the Greater Antilles and possible lesser chiefdoms in the Lesser Antilles.

Sypkens-Smit and Versteeg (1988:287) and Haviser have noted the use of stone tools on Anguilla made of stone from St. Martin (including radiolarian limestone). Watters has also observed that the presence of volcanic temper in ceramic sherds from largely volcanic-free Anguilla and totally volcanic-free Barbuda demands that some form of interaction occurred with volcanic islands, most likely (although as yet unproven) with St. Martin and Antigua respectively (personal communication, 1989). From this data, we can suggest that there was a localized interaction sphere in which St. Martin was identified as the ancestral source island. This sphere involved establishment of political authority at Anguilla via the local manufacture and distribution of porphyrite Zemies, and the exchange of other commodity items made of St. Martin raw materials. This suggestion is supported by a sparsity of similar porphyrite Zemies and radiolarian limestone tools outside the St. Martin-Anguilla area.

It is suggested that there was a specific localized interaction sphere, representing a Post-Saladoid lesser chiefdom, in the St. Martin-Anguilla area. This is manifested by regularly-spaced villages and hamlets on Anguilla, and specialized hamlets on St. Martin and Dog Island. The shrine caverns in the Lowlands and at Fountain Cavern, and the early petroglyph at Hope Estate, along with an abundance of locally manufactured Zemies, are suggestive of a religious hierarchy. The control of political authority appears to have been directed from the physical center of the interaction sphere at western Anguilla.

NOTE

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SPANISH INFLUENCE IN THE LEXICON OF TRINIDADIAN ENGLISH CREOLE¹

This paper investigates the influence of Spanish on the lexicon of Trinidadian English Creole (TEC), within a socio-historical context, and the socio-cultural factors which have influenced the retention or disappearance of words in particular domains. A list of all TEC words of known (and some of suspected) Spanish derivation is included, enabling discussion of this case as a particular illustration of general principles of linguistic borrowing.

SPANISH SETTLEMENT IN TRINIDAD

On July 31, 1498, Christopher Columbus sighted "La Ysla de la Trinidad". His description of the island and its Amerindian inhabitants was favorable for colonization. However, the Spanish government showed little interest in colonizing the island; the next ship did not arrive until 1510. Over the next century, small-scale efforts at settlement met with overwhelming resistance from hostile Indians, difficulties of climate, and attacks by British, French and Dutch pirates. In 1592, only 22 Spaniards and some 6,000 "war Indians" were resident (Carmichael 1961:23). Over a century later, in 1699, the still sparsely populated Spanish colony was diseased and impoverished (Carmichael 1961:30-32; Williams 1962:25-27). By 1778, the population of the island was only 3432, of whom 444 were white, 225 slaves (presumably African), 939 free colored, and 1824 Indians (Laurence 1970:36).² All would presumably have spoken Spanish as a first or second language. Decline in population continued; a total of 2763 was cited in 1783: 126 Whites, 295 Free Colored, 310 Slaves, and 2032 Amerindians (Kingsley 1889).

The Spanish government, interested only in precious metals and gems and the search for "El Dorado", gave little support to the fledgling colony; in fact it did all it could to discourage a potentially flourishing trade in tobacco and cocoa that bypassed the metropolitan ports. In 1776, restricted foreign immigration had begun; it was, however, the Royal Cédula on Colonization of 1783 that marked a turning point in the island's demographic development. This decree "offered generous grants of land to settlers on condition that they took the oath of allegiance to the King of Spain and that they were Roman Catholics. Additional grants were made to all immigrants who brought slaves with them" (Carmichael 1961:36). With the outbreak of the French Revolution, the island was flooded by refugee French planters, who brought their slaves with them. Their common language was French Creole - known in Trinidad as "Patois"; many of the slaves spoke African languages as well.³ Thus, as Laurence (1970:39-40) notes:

While the country continued to be Spanish with allegiance to the Spanish Crown, the Spanish element in the population began to diminish... the island became predominantly French in all aspects of its life, except government... The official language of the island continued to be Spanish, which was used for deeds, contracts, and other legal and official transactions, but it was spoken by comparatively few people at least in the urban areas... in the rural areas, and particularly in the valleys of the northern and central ranges and in the south, Spanish continued to flourish.

After a number of attacks, the British captured the island on February 18, 1797. A census report in 1798, just after the Capitulation, gives the population as follows: 2,500 Whites, 10,000 Slaves, 5,000 Free Negroes and Colored, 1,127 Indians, (Total 18,627) (Laurence 1970:39). By 1803 Trinidad had 505 white Spaniards and 1,751 "colored" inhabitants, plus the 1054 Amerindians at the missions - a maximum of 3310 Spanish-speakers out of a total population of 29,150: 4,028 free French, 663 white English, 599 colored English, and 20,564 slaves (Thompson 1957:357, from de Verteuil 1884:443).

The prestige of the remaining Trinidad Spaniards was not high among the British. Thompson quotes a letter from 1807 claiming that not more than twenty were of "much respectability or influence" (1957:357). Many were impoverished farmers, small shop-keepers, makers of crude sugar, or *alguacils* (police constables).

A number of other constraints on rapid change existed. First, under the terms of the Capitulation, the laws of Spain were to remain in force; they did, at least in part, into the 1840s (Campbell 1975).

There was, too, the problem of language [...] Spanish was the language of the law courts and the government office. Any attempt at a rapid change from Spanish ways to English would be difficult owing to the scarcity of English officials who could speak Spanish. (Carmichael 1961:43).

The Church was also an important factor. Sermons in Catholic churches continued primarily in French or Spanish until the mid-19th century. Catholic missions to the Indians – the most well known at Arima, Siparia, and Matura – had resulted in rapid and thorough hispanicization of that population (Laurence 1970:35, 54-56). By the time the British took over the island, the descendants of the indigenous inhabitants apparently used Spanish exclusively. Even now, pockets of Spanish-speakers are often remnants of former Indian mission settlements. The strong persistence of Spanish and French /French Creole moved Governor MacLeod to complain in 1841 that two thirds of the natives “still speak exclusively either Spanish or French” (Williams 1962:196).⁴ Although some new immigrants came from Spain, particularly from Barcelona, political and trade connections with the Spanish Main – the Spanish colonies along the northern coast of South America – were crucial as an area of contact with Spanish speakers and a source for Spanish speaking immigrants. The first British Governor, Thomas Picton, promoted trade along the Main, and in the interests of obtaining trade concessions, helped Spanish colonial rebels in the Venezuelan wars of independence. From this time on, the two primary factors supporting continued survival of Spanish in Trinidad were continued contact (including visits, legal and illegal trade, and family ties) between the island and the mainland, and the survival of Spanish in relatively isolated village areas.

By 1813, political turmoil in Venezuela was producing a constant stream of refugees to Trinidad. Many of them had left Trinidad after the Capitulation, settling mainly in Venezuela and Colombia (Laurence 1970:44), and were returning to their former home. Other immigrants were *peones*, people of mixed Spanish, African and Amerindian ancestry.

The *peones*' skills in growing cocoa and coffee were an important contribution to what economic well-being there was in the colony, and they were often hired as free laborers (Carmichael 1833:272-3). Their typical occupations (e.g., wood-cutting, stock-rearing, cocoa and coffee growing, hunting) are still associated with the Spanish population in Trinidad (Laurence 1970:44). Cockfighting is also associated primarily with the Spanish population. Because of its longstanding illegality there is little information available on it as yet, but people involved in this often speak or learn Spanish to converse with colleagues at “battles”, e.g. in Venezuela and Miami.

Spanish-speaking immigrants gravitated towards existing villages where Spanish, and Spanish-associated occupations, were dominant. They settled in Trinidad mostly in the Northern and Central Ranges and on the south coast, across the Gulf of Paria from Venezuela, in settlements such as Lopinot, Valencia, and San Rafael.⁵ Additional Spanish language strongholds developed along the south coast, in Erin and Moruga, in the 19th century in response to trade – mostly illegal – with the Spanish Main.

Called "payols" in Trinidad (pronounced /pāyol/ and usually spelled *panyol*), the immigrants spoke a variety of Venezuelan Spanish which was virtually the same as the Spanish of Trinidad spoken by the remaining Spaniards and hispanicized Indians. Many Spanish speakers in Trinidad ("by birth" or "by boat") learned French Creole - the island's true lingua franca until the end of the 19th century - as a second language (Pastner 1967).

The Spanish population was relatively isolated geographically, out of the educational and media mainstream, and small in number. To a great extent the Spanish groups "coalesced and subsequently underwent in rural areas with the rest of the population a process of 'creolization', moving towards a form of 'Creole folk culture'." (Laurence 1970:47). But this creolization and accommodation should not be confused with assimilation (Laurence 1970:47):

Not only is their contribution to this "Creole folk culture" very significant; they also maintained their traditions which formed a sub-culture within the creole structure. The *payol* population was characterised by its music, its dancing, its songs, food, and above all, its language, which was vigorously retained until two generations ago.

Under the pressures of urbanization and industrialization, and the shrinking of coffee and cocoa production, especially after the 1950s, great numbers of Spanish speakers moved from rural areas, and were 'lost' to the English (Creole) dominant culture. Spanish also lost ground in the face of improved communications, including roads, radio and television, and the introduction and extension of compulsory primary education in English (Lovelace 1968; Laurence 1970:61). However, many Spanish communities remained quite intact, completely Spanish in language, customs, and religion, at the end of the 19th century, and, in some isolated areas, well into the 20th. (See descriptions of Spanish and Spanish-influenced village life in Chaumette 1970; Kassiram 1970; Silva 1989, Thompson 1983.)

SPANISH LANGUAGE SURVIVAL IN TRINIDAD

The use of Spanish in Trinidad is oral; almost without exception its native speakers cannot read and write it. Spanish is used only for private-informal conversation in the home, within the family, or within the Spanish speaking community. If Spanish was not learned as a language at home, it was not generally learned at all, unlike Patois (French Creole) which, at least in the past, had clear communicative value and was learned by adults throughout Trinidad (Pastner 1967: 12). Increasing monolingualism of children in English has meant that even within the home, use of Spanish is confined to the older generations.

Since decreasing numbers of Trinidadians are able to understand the oral language, it has a very limited, constantly lessening, function within the general speech community. As a result of these social changes, virtually no one under the age of 30 speaks native Spanish fluently (Laurence 1970:62; Carrington, Borely, and Knight 1974).

Laurence (1970:63) reported that the Trinidadians she interviewed gave several reasons for the decline of Spanish:

- 1) Spanish is considered to be the language of the "rustic" segment of the population. Because of their desire to conform to the urban standard, children are unwilling to be associated with it, and refused to speak it even when encouraged by their parents.
- 2) Some parents prefer not to teach their children Spanish, keeping it as a sort of secret code in which they can communicate with each other without being understood by the rest of the family.
- 3) Some parents believe that a knowledge of the Spanish language "spoils" their children's English and puts them at a disadvantage within the school system.

Calypso, the most widespread traditional popular form of music in Trinidad, reflects the changing use of Spanish in Trinidad. Tiger's 1939 "Señorita Panchita" uses Spanish in quoting a Venezuelan woman:

As I were walking down Frederick Street
 A pretty *señorita* was enchant to meet
 [girl, young woman]
 She said *buenas tardes, señor*
 [good evening, sir]
Como la está usted
 [how are you]
Aquí estoy yo batallando
 [Here I'm struggling along]
 That's what I said...,
 She said *dónde vive* and she began.
 [Where do you live]
 I told her *señorita*, me no *compran* [sic]
 [Miss... understand]
 She said *El Tigre, mi amor*, you I love...
 [Tiger, my love]
 So then I *macha palanto* at my family
 [went quickly]
 She said *chico hombre levanta*
 [hey man, get up]
Yo me voy pa' abajo Camila
 [I'm going down by Camilla's]
 I took her by her hands and we began to walk
 Hear the child, mingling Spanish old talk.⁶

This quotational use of Spanish is also seen in Sparrow's 1983 "Margarita". But whereas Tiger's Spanish reflects a native-like dialectal grasp of Spanish, this song of Sparrow's contains only the occasional use of the kind of "universal Spanish" that can be recognized by people who don't know Spanish, e.g., *sombrero, mañana, mamacita*.

References in music to domains associated with Spanish are primarily to parang music (Spanish Christmas carols), as in Crazy's 1979 "Parang Soca":

I took the role of lead singer
 Parang-rama in Arima
 Fans heard of my parang band
 So thousands flock the grand-stand
 Dave Elcock was the M.C.
 When he introduce me
 People jumping like carnival
 To my rendition of serenal.
 Alpagata, alpagata
 Uno rum, uno paratha,
 María, María, María mi corazón.

Here is a mixture of Spanish - *mi corazón* 'my heart/love' - and Spanish elements found in TEC - *serenal* (kind of parang song) and *alpagata* (sandal) - along with the Spanish *uno* 'one' with the English *rum* and TEC *paratha* (a kind of bread) whose final vowel gives it a "Spanish sound," although every Trinidadian knows the word is Hindi in origin. As Rohlehr has noted for this song, "the very act of parody signals the death or inaccessibility of the language" (1985 personal communication).

Nonetheless, there are a number of factors working to maintain Spanish within the original Spanish-speaking community. Laurence (1970:64-66) cites feelings of "nostalgia", desire to maintain a unique social identity, an aesthetic attachment to the beauty of the language, and a recognition of the practical utility of Spanish for travel and commerce.

SPANISH INFLUENCE ON TEC LEXICON

Many of the Spanish words once commonly recognized in TEC have become archaic or obsolete. Generally speaking, the disappearance of these words is due to the disappearance of their referents. In addition, given the decreasing pool of native speakers of Spanish, the residual influence of Spanish on TEC is not likely to increase.⁷ Several factors are responsible for the integration of Spanish words into TEC. The most basic is temporal priority; the Spanish were the first outsiders to have extended contact with local Amerindians, learning new

vocabulary for new items from indigenous peoples who had already named them. As the first colonial power in Trinidad, the Spanish set up structures – with associated vocabulary, e.g., in government and official systems of measurement. But even after the Capitulation, such systems often continued; the fact that under the terms of the Capitulation many Spanish legal structures remained in place ensured the continuance of the vocabulary into the increasingly dominant English environment. Terms such as *escribano* and *cabildo* were kept long after the British conquest, most until the 1840s, some later. (These words now remain in use only in historical reference; however, terms used for land measure are still current in that they appear on many original land deeds.)

A second factor is the close association, described above, between Spanish speaking communities and particular domains of reference, such as cocoa cultivation, e.g., *debariar* 'to prune'. Although relatively few in number, such words are often culturally quite salient within the larger Trinidadian community (Laurence 1970:69): *parang*, traditional Christmas music; the *velorio de (la) cruz*, a religious ritual; the *loraisons* used for *santiwa*, a healing ceremony; food items such as *pastel*; and a number of names for plants and animals.

Another point to be considered is the generally positive attitudes towards the minority Spanish community felt by the larger creole community. Although Spain was a European colonizer, the effects of the Spanish colonization have been largely overshadowed by the longer and more recent British colonial experience. Generally speaking, there are no strong negative attitudes towards the Spanish, although traditionally local payols may be criticized or looked down on as simple, rustic, naive country folk:

"Look here, Mr. Man", flared the horse-killer, "you is too swift! Don't you think you can humbug me with dem scales! I ain't no stupid panol man, selling me cacao to you, now."
(*The Hummingbird*, May 24, 1904:4)

On the other hand, Spanish women have often been considered physically attractive: "As is usual at any fete in TnT, beautiful women are in abundance, and at parang time, the sexy panyols reign" (*Punch* 1985).

Some attitudes towards the Spanish population reflect typical inter-group stereotypes, particularly an association with the "lighter" aspects of culture:

Another important layer of society is that of the not-aristocratic Spanish Creoles... They are a very gay, pleasure-loving lot – strict Catholics but not averse to uninhibited fun when the occasion demands it. The coloured middle class treats them with a sort of sniffing contempt ("dirty *pajols*", they call them), and there is a joke about the "pajo" girls that is often retailed. They always look very well-groomed, but you must never (unless you want to be disillusioned) try to discover when last they had a bath. (Mittelholzer 1958:57-58)

A stereotype of Spanish people as "fond of music and dance and having a good time" would, however, generally be viewed positively within the creole community.

Some feelings towards local panyols are influenced by attitudes towards Venezuelans, which often depend on "trade winds" in the Gulf of Paria:

The Venezuelans have been unusually chummy and brotherly. Instead of chasing down our fishermen in the gulf, our panyol neighbours are mighty neighbourly. (*Bomb* 1983)

[He] plays he is a panyol cop and terrorises all Trinidadians who have been living [in Venezuela] for years. (*Bomb*, 27 March 1987)

The problem of the whisky-guzzling, trigger-happy "Panyols" using our fishermen for target practice is one that was founded on the late PNM government's utter cowardice... how come the [Coast Guard] have never once saved any fisherman from loud Spanish calpets [blows]? (*TnT Mirror*, 13 October 1989:4)

Two further cultural phenomena have helped retention of an admittedly small number of words. One is the increased national attention given to various ethnic cultural manifestations, particularly music and dance, in vehicles such as "Best Village", a long-running televised competitive cultural series organized on a village basis; this has given consistent exposure to Spanish dance names, for example. Similarly, although many traditional carnival masquerades have disappeared, the maintenance of the Spanish-origin *burrokeet* band has thus far ensured the word's survival.

Another cultural factor is the crystallization of parang into the season that is Christmastime - from the last week in November to the "Day of the Kings" (Magi), or "Día de los Reyes," January 6th (Taylor 1977:15). The positive association of parang and particular foods such as *pastels* with Christmas and Christmas activities is conducive to continued use of some relevant words outside the immediate Spanish community.

On the day of Christmas Eve my father usually went and helped Mr Sylvestre butcher a pig, and in the evening he would come home with a few drinks of rum in his head and in his hands a choice piece of pork and a coiled length of black pudding, and after he put down the meat and had a bath and something to eat, he would take up his *cuatro* and his two *shac shacs* and go into the kitchen where my mother would have started seasoning the meat, 'I going down the road to see what the boys doing.' And he would be gone until maybe, sometimes, Christmas day when he would come up the front steps with the rest of the *parang* band and stand on the verandah, with his head bent sideways and his eyes closed, singing in his rasping bass voice the plaintive serenades, his fingers flying over the strings of the *cuatro* cradled in his arms, and my mother would throw open the door for him, for them, and, with the rest of the band, he would enter, like a stranger, the drawing room, with its curtains and its polish and its paint, with everything already on the table, the rum and the wine and the ham and the sweetbread and the ginger beer and the sorrell and the cake... he would play music and sing and drink and eat and leave with them,

returning home maybe a day or two later, not content simply with making the rounds of the village, but, finding it necessary to go by his sister in Valencia, by his brother-in-law in Sangre Grande or by one of his cousins in Biche... 'Somebody have to keep it up, Pearl. Somebody have to play the music and go round by people for Christmas and bring some merriment.' (Lovelace 1988:8-9)

However, increasing scrutiny of parang has focused on the "corrupt Spanish" of the lyrics:

It's an odd thing. In this English-speaking country of ours, where the Spanish vocabulary of most is not much broader than *dinero* and *chica*, we insist on rolling off uptempo ballads in "Spanish" every time Christmas comes. Most of us haven't the least idea what we are singing. And the truth is: most of the time what we sing is just plain nonsense... One... researcher [said]... "to translate the words sung by the Trinidad parang group would be almost [impossible]; they mean nothing and are just 'parang Spanish' words put together to blend with the music" (Sankar 1990:40).

Such criticism is met with mixed response by paranderas and paranderos. On the one hand, few are fluent native or non-native speakers of Spanish, and most feel insecure about the quality and comprehensibility of their Spanish. On the other hand, criticism of parang Spanish is often based on a European model and could be equally leveled at Venezuelan Spanish. When Venezuelans criticize Trinidadian Spanish in songs, there is further ambivalence, fueled both by resentment of Venezuelans for political reasons, and the fact that while Venezuela is recognized as the original source of Trinidadian parang, the mainland groups are often felt to play not as "hot" or "sweet" as the local ones, despite any linguistic advantages. The National Parang Association now insists on "pronunciation" as a competition criterion, and the Venezuelan Institute for Culture and Co-operation is offering special lessons in parang (Sankar 1990:40).

LATIN AMERICAN SPANISH (LAS)

After 1504, the Spanish colonization of the New World was carried out by people from different regions of the country; prior to that year only Castilians had been permitted to undertake such enterprise. Statistical accounts for the period show the diverse regional provenance of the settlers (Alonso 1961:40fn). The most numerous were from the regions of Castile, Andalusia, Leon, and Extremadura; others came in significant numbers from Vasconia, Portugal, Galicia, the Canaries, Aragon, Valencia, Navarre, Catalonia, Murcia, and the Balearics. Each of these groups brought with them the regional language variety of their place of origin; once in the Americas, however, they had to adjust their dialects in order to interact efficiently with other Spanish settlers. The

development of this new mode of expression was achieved through a levelling of the different dialects, strongly guided by the prestige of the leading region, Castile (Alonso 1961:7-60). Castilian was universally recognized as the language of the court and government, of literature, and of the upper circles of society. Therefore, the linguistic basis of the Spanish in Latin America can be said to be a Castilian-oriented, levelled dialect of the varieties of Spanish brought by Spanish colonists.

Although there are many differences among the dialects of Latin American Spanish, they tend to share some significant characteristics: *seseo*, *yeísmo*, and Americanization of the vocabulary. *Seseo* occurs in words in which European Spanish has /θ/, and LAS uses /s/, e.g.: *cera* 'wax', *ciento* 'hundred', *caza* 'to hunt'. *Yeísmo* is the merger of /λ/ with /y/, e.g., /kayo/ for both *cayo* 'fell' and *callo* 'hushed'. In LAS, *yeísmo* is the dominant form, and it is also found in many areas of Spain.

"Americanisms" are words which were first adopted, adapted or invented by Spanish-speakers in the New World. For the most part, they arose from the need to assign a name to things in the New World and unknown in Spain. Flora and fauna are the most obvious realms of borrowing from indigenous Amerindian languages: *tucán* 'toucan', *patata* 'potato', *llama* 'llama'. In such cases, indigenous words were adopted or slightly modified into Spanish. In many other cases, existing Spanish words were used to denote new objects which shared some similarity with the original Spanish referent. For example, the European Spanish *comadreja* 'weasel' is widely used for the South American marsupial opossum, on the basis of their similar behavior in stealing and eating eggs and chickens.

A more subtle aspect of this process of reaccommodation is an "Americanism in the internal form of the language" (Alonso 1961: 61-83), a reorganization or shift of semantic categorization. In Argentina, for example, the word *yerba*, a type of prepared leaves used for tea, is replaced by *hierba*; the original European Spanish *hierba* means 'herbaceous vegetation'.

TRINIDADIAN SPANISH LANGUAGE

Some difficulties arise in the full description of Trinidadian Spanish. As Lipski notes in his examination of grammatical features of Trinidadian Spanish, there is a lack of data on earlier stages of the language, as well as on earlier Venezuelan Spanish; furthermore, a high proportion of current Trinidadian Spanish speakers are only "semifluent", and fairly isolated (1990: 11).

Moodie (1986b:187) states that Trinidadian Spanish is basically an oral manifestation of vulgar and rustic Spanish; it certainly exhibits the typical LAS

characteristics of *seseo* and *yeísmo*. The other phonological features most relevant to this study include the following (not in significant order).

a. The European sound /x/ is realized by /h/, e.g., *mujer* 'woman' > [muhé], *horopo* (a dance) > [horópo].

b. There is "softening" and sometimes dropping of intervocalic consonants: e.g., *pavo* 'turkey' [paβo] ~ [páwo] ~ [páo]; *tubo* 'tube' [tubo] ~ [tuo]; *dedo* 'finger' [dedo] ~ [deyo] ~ [deo]; *alrededor* 'around' [alrededor] ~ [alreol]; and of some voiced fricatives, e.g., *pulga* 'parasitic tick' [pulga] ~ [pulwa].

c. There is some lateralization of [d] and [r]: e.g., *dasheen* (a tuber) [dasin] ~ [lasin]; *rastrajo* 'land reverting to bush' [rastroho] ~ [lastroho]; *rara* 'strange' > [rála], *cerebro* 'brain' > [seléβro]. In some positions, particularly intervocalically, /r/ often disappears, e.g., *para* 'for, to' > [pa], *mire* 'look' [mie], *carnaval* > [kanaβál]. In final positions, /r/ appears sporadically, e.g., *caer* 'to fall' [kaeɾ] ~ [kae].

d. Final consonants are aspirated, vocalized, lateralized or lost: e.g., *doctor* 'doctor' [doktor] ~ [doktol]; *salchicha* 'sausage' [salčiča] ~ [saučič]; *absoluto* 'absolute' [absolúto] ~ [asoluto].

e. The [d] in initial [de-] is dropped: e.g., *después* 'after' [depwé] > [epwé]; *desnudo* 'naked' [deznudo] > [elnúo].

f. Certain consonants are neutralized, e.g., *despedida* 'farewell' [dehpēḏíra] ~ [dehpēḏíla]; *rara* 'rare' [rara] ~ [rala]; *bueno* 'good' [bwéno] ~ [gwéno] ~ [wéno]; *berenjena* 'eggplant' [merenḡhēna] ~ [berenḡhēna].

g. Some consonant groups are reduced: e.g., *catedral* 'cathedral' [kateḏrál] ~ [katedál] ~ [katerál]; *tendré* 'I will have' [tendré] ~ [tendé]; *pobre* 'poor' [póḑre] ~ [póre]; *grande* 'big' [grande] ~ [gande] ~ [rande].

h. Of particular relevance to American lexicon in Trinidadian English Creole is the loss of final unstressed vowels, e.g., *los ángeles* 'the angels' > *los ángel*; *zancúdo* 'mosquito' > *zancú* [saŋku]. Many words of Spanish origin (or Amerindian origin, through Spanish) entered Trinidadian Spanish without the final unstressed vowel: e.g., *poco a poco* > [pókapók] 'little by little', *arepa* [arep] 'cornmeal dumpling', *sancocho* [sankóč] (a type of stew).

i. There is a tendency for vowels left in final position after -s loss to be lengthened and opened, e.g., *dos* > [dɔ], *tres* > [trɛ], although this is not always the case, e.g., *viernes* [bjérne].

j. Shifting occurs with /e/ > /i/ tending to become higher or more closed in final position: e.g., *siete* 'seven' [sjéti] ~ [sjéti] ~ [sjét]; *quince* 'fifteen' [kinse] ~ [kinsi]; *mapire* (a type of basket) [mapire] ~ [mapiri].

k. Unstressed final /o/ undergoes similar changes, being dropped, devoiced or unreleased in final position: e.g., *poco* 'little' [póko] ~ [póku] ~ [pok]; *pecho* 'chest' [pečo] ~ [pečɔ]; *sancocho* (a stew) [saŋkóčo] ~ [saŋkóč].

l. Vowels in certain groups of successive identical vowels are reduced: *cree* 'believe' [krée] ~ [kre]; *alcohol* [alkóol] ~ [alkól]; /ue/ > /e/ in *nuez moscada* 'nutmeg' [memokáda] ~ [memoká].

m. Diphthongization of vowel groups occurs, sometimes accompanied by a shift of accent: *trae* 'bring' [tráe] > [trái]; *cae* 'fall down' [káe] > [kái]; *maíz* 'corn' [maís] > [máis]; *tenía* 'had' [tenía] > [ténja].

n. Reduction of diphthongs sometimes occurs, as it does normally in colloquial uneducated speech.

[e̞i̞] > [e̞], e.g., *veinte* 'twenty' > [bente]

[e̞u̞] > [e̞], e.g., *reuma* 'rheumatism' > [réma]

[e̞ũ] > [u̞], e.g., *reumatismo* > [rumatizmo]

[wa] > [o], e.g., *cualquiera* 'whoever' > [kolkera]

[wi] > [i], e.g., *muy* 'very' > [mi]

ái > [ái] and sometimes [áy], e.g., *maíz* 'corn' [maís] [máí] and [may];

oe > [we], e.g., *poeta* 'poet' [pwéta];

ao > [aũ], e.g., *ahorita* 'soon' [aũrita].

The vowel hiatus in *ea*, *eo* and *ia* is eliminated by the insertion of epenthetic *y*:

sea 'be' > [séya] *deseo* 'wish' [deséyo]

o. Richards (1970:265) also states that the velarization of the final /n/, e.g., /pion/ 'peon' is not due to French or English influence, but exemplifies a common Latin American Spanish feature.

SOURCES OF SPANISH-INFLUENCED LEXICON IN TEC

The lists in appendices A (Flora), B (Fauna) and C (General) contain words in TEC apparently deriving from Spanish in origin or transmission. In order to be included in these lists, the word must be familiar to and used by native speakers of TEC who do *not* know Spanish, and must not be Spanish words which have become part of an international standard English. Place names of Spanish origin (or Amerindian origin through Spanish) are not included (see Baksh-Soodeen 1986 and Thompson 1959). Pronunciations are included where known.

As mentioned above in discussing Latin American Spanish, some of these words are direct borrowings or minor adaptations of European Spanish (often ultimately traceable to Latin and Arabic). Most such words are relatively easy to trace historically. A far larger number cannot be traced directly to European Spanish. Words noted as Latin American Spanish presumably either were invented in the New World, or, much more commonly, were borrowed or adapted from Amerindian languages. Here the difficulties of tracing etymology make many cases impossible to ascertain with any degree of certainty.

The nature of Amerindian settlement in Trinidad is by no means clear. Popular belief that the Caribs were fierce warriors and the Arawaks gentle and even weak has perhaps encouraged revisionist descriptions of the pre-European population as being primarily Carib.⁸ Considerable controversy, based on historical and archaeological accounts, has failed to resolve this question (see Baksh-Soodeen 1986:16-18; Newson 1976:17-19; Pichardo Moya 1956; Stewart 1963, vol. 4). Groups mentioned as living in Trinidad include Arawaks (also spelled Arawacas, Aruacas, Araucas), Nepuyos (Nipuyos, Nepoios), Saluaios, Iaos, Carinepagotos, Guayanes, Camucuraos, Chacomares, and Guaiquiris. "A number of accounts mention the presence of Caribs in Trinidad but most evidence points to the Indians being friendly rather than hostile, although they are now considered to have been a more warlike branch of the Arawak stock" (Newson 1976:19). Newson concludes that "Trinidad on the eve of being discovered by Columbus was predominantly Arawak... the presence of some Carib settlements remains a possibility" (1976:19).

A reasonable working premise is that the main indigenous groups which had significant contact with Europeans in Trinidad were the Carib-Igneri and the Eastern Arawak (Lokono, Shebaio), both of whom apparently had more or less permanent settlements on the island at various times, as well as the Warrau (Guarao, Warahoon) of the Orinoco Delta, who maintained strong trade relations with Trinidad, particularly in the southern and central eastern areas, well into the 1930s.

Linguistic evidence is difficult to utilize in this argument because of a dearth of adequate research resources, particularly dictionaries. Although Taylor (1977) provides an extensive review of several relevant languages, the short word-lists are confined to basic vocabulary. He also points out the early start of lexical borrowing, noting that Breton's Carib-French dictionary (1665) "already contained some six dozen loans from Spanish" (Taylor 1977: 28). De Barral's dictionary of Guarao (1957) provides etymologies for only a small number of words known in Trinidad. Many of the attributions used in this paper are taken from studies which cite either no source for attribution to a particular Amerindian language, or sources which were not available to the authors. At this stage, the determination of the contribution of specific Amerindian languages to TEC lexicon was not possible.

However, given the demographic history outlined in the first section, it is unlikely that many Amerindian words came into TEC directly from native speakers of Amerindian languages. Most Amerindian etyma were probably transmitted to TEC through the medium of Spanish - many considered to be "Spanish" by the time they were fully absorbed into TEC. In some cases, words attributed to languages like Quechua, the predominant languages of the Andes, would have been brought to Trinidad by Spaniards who had migrated from one

area of the Spanish empire to another. Baksh-Soodeen (1986:1) notes, for example, that during the period of Spanish colonial rule, Taino words from the Greater Antilles were borrowed into the Spanish language brought to Trinidad.

The lack of adequate dictionaries means that a word may be "credited" to a particular source language because it is known from a dictionary of that language, despite the fact that the word may also exist or have existed in another language – perhaps geographically or culturally closer – for which no dictionary is available. In some cases, particularly flora and fauna, linguistic evidence (i.e., failure to find a European or African source, plus linguistic similarity to known Amerindian words) for a word has led to a designation as "Latin American Spanish". Of these words, some are doubtless from European Spanish, and some locally developed, but most are presumed to be from as yet undetermined Amerindian language sources.

A final difficulty to be noted in tracing etymology results from the large number of cognates shared by Spanish and French. As discussed above, although Spanish settlement was considerably earlier than French, the latter quickly outnumbered the former, and it was French Creole which spread widely, not Spanish. It is often linguistically impossible to determine whether a source is more likely to be the Spanish or French version. For example, *bakaday* 'loading wharf' could be either from Sp. *embarcadero* or from Fr. *embarcadère* – or indeed both. In some cases one can distinguish the sources. For example, the snake name *tigre* is probably Spanish, but *tig* 'ocelot' is probably FC, based on pronunciation and the alternate and (formerly common) FC *chat tig* for the latter. An English-pattern spelling, e.g., *pack-o'-tea*, may camouflage a Spanish origin; failure to recognize an English source for a word is also possible.⁹

In our study, we researched for etymologies all TEC words we suspected of possible Spanish origin or transmission. (Note that compounds using 'Spanish' as a definer, e.g., 'Spanish fowl,' 'Spanish thyme' are not included.) Although the list is no doubt incomplete, there are probably not many more, especially ones known outside the Spanish community. Breakdowns of etymologies, as far as can be ascertained, for the words listed in each appendix are shown in tables 1-3, and for all groups together in table 4.

SOURCES OF SPANISH DERIVED LEXICON

In this study, 331 TEC words were found to be of Spanish origin, or to have Spanish as a probable immediate source. Not surprisingly, the highest proportion of Spanish lexicon of Amerindian origin is in the domains of flora (71 words; about 39 percent Spanish, 11 percent LAS, 47 percent Amerindian) and fauna (69 words, about 62 percent Spanish, 10 percent LAS, 21 percent Amerindian).

TABLE 1: SPANISH-DERIVED LEXICON, FLORA

Source	Number	%
European Spanish	29	38.7
Latin American Spanish	8	10.7
Amerindian	35	46.7
Philippines Spanish	2	2.6
African	<u>1</u>	<u>1.3</u>
Total Derivations	75	100.0
Total Words	71	

Note: Multiple derivations lead to greater number of derivations than number of words. "LAS" includes "Amer"?

TABLE 2: SPANISH-DERIVED LEXICON, FAUNA

Source	Number	%
European Spanish	44	62.0
European Spanish and/or English	3	4.2
European Spanish and/or French	2	2.8
Latin American Spanish	7	9.9
Amerindian	<u>15</u>	<u>22.0</u>
Total Derivations	71	100.0
Total Words	69	

TABLE 3: SPANISH-DERIVED LEXICON, GENERAL

Source	Number	%
European Spanish	141	73.1
European Spanish and/or French	12	6.2
European Spanish and/or English	5	2.6
Latin American Spanish	13	6.8
Amerindian	19	9.8
African	2	1.0
European Spanish and/or Portuguese	<u>1</u>	<u>0.5</u>
Total Derivations	193	100.0
Total Words	191	

Note: "European Spanish" includes Spanish plus English or Amerindian.

For all other 191 general words, derivations are about: Spanish 73 percent, LAS 7 percent, and Amerindian 10 percent. For all domains combined for all 331 words, the proportion is about 63 percent Spanish, 8 percent LAS and 20 percent Amerindian. (Other languages, or possible convergences of Spanish and other languages, comprise the remaining.)

TABLE 4: SPANISH-DERIVED LEXICON, ALL DOMAINS

Source	Number	%
European Spanish	214	63.1
European Spanish and/or French	14	4.1
European Spanish and/or English	8	2.4
Latin American Spanish	28	8.3
Amerindian	69	20.3
African	3	0.9
European Spanish and/or Portuguese	1	0.3
Philippines Spanish	2	0.6
Total Derivations	339	100.0
Total Words	331	

PROPORTIONS OF SPANISH DERIVED WORDS BY LEXICAL DOMAINS

The patterns of lexical borrowing from or through Spanish into Trinidadian English/English Creole exemplify a number of recognized processes of language change. Word borrowing generally follows intense contact, including conquest and trade. A well documented example of this is the influx of French words into English after the Norman Conquest.

The largest single group among the words that came in early was associated with the church, where the necessity for the prompt transference of doctrine and belief from the clergy to the people is sufficient to account for the frequent transfer of words... After 1250... those who had been accustomed to speak French were turning increasingly to the use of English... [and] carried over into English an astonishing number of common French words... much of their governmental and administrative vocabulary, their ecclesiastical, legal, and military terms, their familiar words of fashion, food, and social life, the vocabulary of art, learning, and medicine. (Baugh and Cable 1978:168)

Words are usually borrowed from one language to another within specialized domains, particularly technological or natural items associated with the lender language culture (Hock 1986:384). The Trinidadian case demonstrates such influence clearly (table 5).

Of the Spanish-derived (or Spanish-intermediary) lexical items in TEC, about 22 percent are flora, and 21 percent fauna. The 112 words in domains associated economically, historically, and culturally with the Spanish population - agriculture, food, gaming, geography, government/historical, measures, music, dance and carnival - account for about 33 percent of the total Spanish derived lexicon. Of special interest, however, are the 79 words which are not exclusively associable with Spanish culture, including descriptions of appearance and behavior, race, and - arguably - greetings. Thus, of the total corpus of Spanish influenced lexicon, percentages are about 22 for flora, 21 for fauna, 33 for Spanish-associated domains, and 24 for non-associated domains.

TABLE 5: CATEGORIES OF SPANISH-DERIVED LEXICON BY SUBJECT DOMAIN

Domain	Number	%
Agriculture	17	5.1
Appearance & Behavior	20	6.0
Fauna	69	20.9
Flora	71	21.5
Food	18	5.5
Cockfighting, Games	15	4.5
Geography	9	2.7
Government/Historical	16	4.8
Greetings, expressions	7	2.1
Measures	11	3.3
Music, Dance, Carnival	26	7.9
Race, Ethnicity	6	1.8
Other	<u>46</u>	<u>13.9</u>
Total	331	100.0

Many of the terms listed are archaic or obsolete, reflecting the effects of both termination of legal status and lessening of social and cultural importance. That some should have continued to be used in specialized technical domains is perhaps not surprising, but that others, in domains not particularly associated with Spanish culture, have survived is more noteworthy.

CONCLUSION

The type of Spanish lexical influence on TEC and its process of integration are fairly typical of word borrowing patterns for other languages. One exception is the factor of prestige. Hock has pointed out that prestige is often an important factor motivating adoption of words from another language, e.g., French terms for cuisine in English. In some situations,

[A] fair number of native terms survived the onslaught of the more prestigious language, often coexisting with borrowed items... *basic* vocabulary tends to resist change most successfully (Hock 1986:384).

Similarly, Lozano (1981) has noted that while traces of Aztec culture in modern Spanish include Nahuatl words for flora, fauna and aspects of native religion, in the earlier colonial period, more vocabulary in philosophy, astronomy, poetry, mathematics, arts, music, and rhetoric was retained, reflecting the prestige and importance of these cultural areas. However, no obvious parallel for prestige appears in the Trinidadian data, presumably because the prestige of

Spanish in the wider community was never very high, though it was less stigmatized than in many comparable situations.

Most of the Spanish derived lexicon, outside of flora and fauna, is, not surprisingly, culturally bound to Spanish domains, including historical government, food, measures, music, dance, gambling, cocoa and cockfighting. Nonetheless, not all integrated terms fit the categorization of borrowing of cultural items, including words for geographic features and psychological characterizations of people; no doubt many of these had simple chronological precedence and were kept either because there was no obvious substitute or for affective reasons.

The patterns of borrowing from Amerindian languages through the intermediary of Spanish are also fairly typical (Baugh and Cable 1978:226-228). English has adopted vocabulary in extensive amounts from over 50 languages, with many Italian and Spanish words, for example, entering English through French.

Two other general phenomena in word borrowing are also exemplified in these data. The first concerns parts of speech.

It has been noted that verbs are crosslinguistically less easily borrowed than nouns... many languages instead borrow a nominal form of the verb and employ a native 'all-purpose' verb such as *do*, *make* as a means of turning that form into the equivalent of a verb (Hock 1986:386).

All the flora and fauna items in this corpus are of course nouns. Of the remaining general vocabulary, there are 127 nouns, 13 adjectives, 9 verbs, 5 interjections, and 2 adverbs. Of the four verb phrases, *make pacotee* is an example of the "all-purpose verb" process Hock describes; the rest are calques - *make hot/cold*, *have years*, *have belly*, *have head*. In morphology, Hock notes that "derivational morphemes... are borrowed much more readily than inflectional affixes" (1986:387). The Trinidad corpus does not contradict this generalization. No borrowing of inflectional affixes was found. Three examples of the derivational *-ado* were found, in two adjectives, *crazau* < Eng. *crazy* + Sp. *-ado* and *annisao* 'flavored with anis', and in one noun *tumbau* 'a type of injury to a fighting cock resulting in an inability to stand' < *tumbado* 'knocked down, stunned.'

Despite the relatively small influence of Spanish in Trinidad, 328 words of direct or indirect Spanish derivation were found in Trinidadian English Creole. Although many are archaic or historical, a number of words remain as significant parts of the vernacular, in a variety of subject domains, not all of which are bound to Spanish-associated cultural patterns.

APPENDICES

- A. Spanish Lexicon in TEC, Flora
- B. Spanish Lexicon in TEC, Fauna
- C. Spanish Lexicon in TEC, General

Key to Abbreviations and Symbols

- () = general definition
- ' ' = specific definition
- // = pronunciation, if known
- < = derived from, found in
- / = and/or
- Amer. = Amerindian
- LAS = Latin American Spanish
- Sp. = European Spanish
- Fr. = French
- (obs.) = obsolete in current TEC usage
- (arch.) = archaic in current TEC usage
- (hist.) = historical usage only

N.B. Pronunciations are only given where known.

Appendix A: Spanish Lexicon in TEC, Flora

- altamis* /altamis/ 'Ambrosia cumanensis, a fragrant-leaved plant' < Sp. *artemisa* (a fragrant medicinal plant) < Latin
- angelin* /anjəlɪn/ 'Andira inermis, a tree with pink flowers' < LAS *angelin* (a leguminous tree) < Portuguese
- agalie* /agli, agali/ 'Ficus sp., a parasitic tree' < Sp. *algalia* 'musk hibiscus' < Arabic
- areca* /areka/ 'Areca catechu, the betel nut palm' < Sp. (a palm) < Amer.
- balata* /balata/ 'Manilkara bidentata, tree with hard wood, edible fruit' < LAS < Carib
- bilimbi* /bilimbi/ 'Averrhoa bilimbi, a plant bearing cucumber-shaped acidic fruits' < Sp. *bilimbín* (a tree) < Philippines
- bois toucan* /bwa tukā/ 'Laetia procera, a tree' < LAS *tucán* 'toucan' < Amer. (Brazil)
- bruca* /bruka/ 'Cassia occidentalis, a tree, wild coffee' < LAS?
- caimet* /kaimet, kaimɪt/ 'Chrysophyllum cainito, a tree bearing an edible fruit' < LAS *caimito* (a tree, fruit) < Amer. (Taino)

- cajou de burro* (a tree) (obs.?) < *cajou* 'cashew' (Amer.) + *Sp. de* 'of' + *Sp. burro* 'donkey'
- calderon* (a tree) (obs.?) < LAS *calderon* (a plant) < Amer.?
- callisia* /kalizia/ (a plant) < LAS *calisaya* (a tree) < Amer. (Bolivia)
- candero* /kandero/ (a tree) < LAS *candelon* (a mangrove tree) < Amer. (Antilles, Mexico)
- carap* /karap/ 'Carapa guianensis, a tree whose seed yields useful oil' < LAS *carapa* (a plant) < Amer. (Galibi, Calina, Arauco)
- carat* /karat/ 'Copernicia sp., a palm tree used for thatching' < LAS *carato* (a tree) < Amer.
- carimo blanco* (a tree) (obs.?) < *carimo* (Amer.?) + *Sp. blanco* 'white'
- chachamunchin*, *chanchamunchin* /tʃatʃamutʃɪn, tʃantʃamutʃɪn/ 'Justicia secunda, a plant' < LAS *chinchamuchina* (a Veneuelan plant) < Amer.?
- chiquito* /tʃikito/ 'a type of very small banana' < *Sp. chiquito* 'small'
- chirimoya* /tʃirimoya/ (a tree and its fruit) < LAS *chirimoya* (a tree, fruit) < Amer.
- courba* 'pumpkin' < LAS *curbana* (a shrub) < Amer. (?)
- estralog* 'Gurania spinulosa, a plant' < LAS *estragon* 'tarragon'
- gamalot* /gamilot/ 'Setaria poiretiana, a plant whose leaves repel water; also Chaetochloa sulcata or C. palmifolia, a saw-edged grass' < LAS *camalote* 'water lily' < Amer.
- gatia* /gatia/ 'Astronium graveolens or Brosimum aubleti, leopard wood, a tree with spotty, streaked wood' < LAS *gateado* 'cat-like'
- granadilla* /granadilla/ 'Passiflora quadrangularis, the passionflower and fruit' < *Sp. granadilla* 'passionflower' < Latin
- guatecare*, *guatacare*, *watercare* /wataker, gwataker/ 'Eschweilera subglan-dulosa, a tree' < LAS *guatacare* (a tree) < Amer. (Cumanan)
- guava* /guava/ 'Psidium guajava, a tree with edible fruit' < LAS *guaba* 'guava fruit' < Amer. (Taino?)
- guma*, *aguma* /guma, aguma/ 'Solanum nigrum americanum, a plant' < *Sp. gumamela* (a plant) < Philippines
- jagua* 'Melicocca bijuga, chenette, a tree with edible fruit' (obs.?) < LAS *jagua* (a tree) < Amer.
- kalenda* /kalenda/ 'Trimezia martinicensis, a plant' < *Sp. calenda* 'first day of month' < Latin
- kambut* 'Paspalum conjugatum, a plant' < *Sp. cambuto* 'small, chubby' cf. *cambutera* (a wild liane) (Cuba)
- kayakeet* /kayakit/ 'Lantana camara, a shrub with yellow-pink-orange flowers' < LAS *cariaquito* (a bush) < Amer. (Cumanagotan)

- kerekel* /kerekel/ (a palm tree and its edible fruits; also possibly inedible undeveloped seeds of normally edible piwa palm fruits) < LAS *quelenquelen* (a plant) < Amer. (Araucanian)
- lattan* /latan/ 'Desmoncus major, a climbing palm' < LAS *latania* (a palm) < Amer.
- lian-tasso* /lian taso/ 'Bauhinia excisa, a plant' < Sp. *liana* 'liana, vine' + Sp. *tasajo* 'dry salt meat'
- malanga* /malanga/ (a type of tuber) < LAS *malanga* (a tuber) < African (Zaire-Zimbabwe?)
- mamoo* /mamū/ 'Carludovica sp., a vine used in basketry' < LAS *mamure* (a liana) < Amer. (Tamanacan)
- manac* /manak/ 'Euterpe broadwayana, a palm tree' < LAS *manaque/manak* (an Orinoco palm) < Amer.
- mapurit* /mapuwit, mapurit/ 'Petivaria alliacea, gully root, a plant' < LAS *mapurite* (a plant) < Amer. (Carib, Cumanagotan, Yabarama, Beyote)
- marakee* 'Crotalaria incana, C. maraca, or C. retusa, a plant with leguminous pods which rattle when dry' < LAS *maraquito* (a bush) < ? + Sp. *-ito* (diminutive)
- Maraval lily* /maraval/ 'Spathiphyllum cannifolium, a plant with a white flower' < LAS *maravilla* (creeping plants) probably < Maraval, area near Port of Spain < *maravilla* + *-al* 'having many such plants'
- marouba* /maruba/ 'Simarouba amara, a tree' < Sp. *marrubio* (a mint) < Latin
- mataburro* /mataburo/ 'mankiller fig, a type of banana believed to be lethal if not properly cooked' < LAS < Sp *matar* 'kill' + Sp. *burro* 'donkey'
- matapal*, *matapalo* /matapal, matapalo/ 'Clusia rosea or C. palmacida, a strangling tree' < LAS *matapalo* < Sp. *matar* 'kill' + Sp. *palo* 'tree'
- matrang* 'Hyptis suaveolens, a plant' < Sp. *mastranto* (a plant) < Latin
- mauby* /mobi/ 'Colubrina reclinata, a tree whose bark is used in a beverage' < LAS *mobi* < Amer.
- melongene*, *balangene* /melɒnjen/ 'Solanum melongena, the eggplant or aubergine' < Sp. *berengena* 'eggplant'
- moriche* /mɒritʃ/ 'Mauritia setigera or M. flexuosa, a palm.' < LAS *moriche* (a tree) < Amer.
- orosul* 'Matelea viridiflora, a vine' < Sp. *orozuz* (a plant) < Arabic
- palma christi* /pama kristi/ 'Ricinus communis, the castor oil tree' < Sp. *palma cristi* 'castor oil tree' < Latin
- patacon* 'Cissampelas pareira, a vine with kidney-shaped leaves' < Sp. *patacon* (a silver coin, often having a wedge cut out) < Arabic
- pawpaw* /pɒpɒ/ 'Carica papaya, a tree with edible fruit' < LAS *papayo* 'papaya' < Amer

- pimento* /pɪmento/ 'Pimenta dioica, the allspice tree' < Sp. *pimiento* (a pepper plant) < Latin
- pitanga* /pitanga/ 'Eugenia uniflora, a tree with edible fruit' < LAS *pitanga* (a tree, fruit) < Amer.
- piwa* /piwa/ 'Bactris gasipaes, a palm tree with edible fruits' < LAS < Amer.
- pomelo* /pomelo/ (a citrus fruit) < Sp. *pomelo* 'grapefruit' < Latin
- rayo* /rayo/ 'Cordyline terminalis, a plant with striped leaves' < Sp. *rayo* 'ray, beam, flash' < Latin
- refriyau* 'Dorstenia contrajerva, a plant' < Sp. *resfriado* 'cold, illness' < *raiz de resfriado* 'root for [treating] colds'
- reidemat* 'Aristolochia rugosa, a vine' < Sp. *raiz* 'root' + Sp. *de* 'of' + *mata* (a plant) < Latin
- roble* /robəl/ 'Platymiscium trinitatis, a tree' < Sp. *roble* 'oak' < Latin
- samaan* /saman/ 'Pithecellobium saman, a tree' LAS *saman* 'samaan tree' < Amer.
- santa maria* /santa maria/ 'Lantana involucrata, a plant used medicinally' < Sp. *santa* 'saint' + Sp. *Maria* 'Mary'
- sapodilla*, /sapodila/ *sapotee* /sapoti/ 'Achras sapota, a tree with edible fruit' < LAS *zapotillo* < 'zapote < Nahuatl *tzapotl*? + Sp. *-illo* (diminutive)' (a tree and fruit)
- siriyo* /sirio/ 'Sambucus intermedia, a plant' < Sp. *cirio* 'long candle' < Latin
- tapia* /tapia/ 'Sporobolus indicus, a grass used in mud-wall construction' < Sp. 'earth bricks' < Latin/Arabic
- tekoe* 'a type of tuber' < LAS *tegue* 'a type of tuber' (Venezuela)
- tonca*, *tonka* /tɒnka/ 'Dipteryx odorata, a tree with a very fragrant seed' < LAS *tonca* < Amer.
- topatop* /topatop/ 'Physalis angulata, a plant with top-shaped fruit' < Sp. *topotopo* (a plant) < Amer.
- tural* /tural/, *turada* /turada/, *tulala* /tulala/, 'Sanseveria thyrsiflora, a plant with long narrow thick leaves' < LAS *turada*, *tura* (a plant) < Amer.
- waku* 'Mikania micrantha, a vine' < LAS *guaco* (a plant) < Amer.
- warakarajo* (a plant) < LAS *guaracaro* (a plant) < Amer.
- zeecack* /zikak, zikaks/ (*Chrysobalanus icaco*, a shrub with edible purple fruit) < LAS [h]icaco 'coco plum' < Amer. (Taino, Cumananan or Arawak *ikaku*)

Appendix B: Spanish Lexicon in TEC: Fauna

- ancho* /ancho/ 'Pomatomus sp., the bluefish' < Sp. *anchoa* (a fish) *anguille* /angwil/ 'eel' < Sp. *anguila*, *anguilla* 'eel' /< Fr. *anguille* 'eel'
- bagre* /bag/ 'Bagre bagre or *Arius spixii*, marine catfish' < Sp. *bagre* (a freshwater catfish) *barracouta* /barakuta/ 'Sphyræna barracuda, the barracuda' < LAS *barracuda* (a fish, *Sphyræna* sp.)
- barbe* /barb/ 'any catfish, especially the freshwater *Rhamdia sebae* or *R. quelen*, and the marine *Bagre bagre* and *Arius spixii*' < Sp. *barbo*/Fr. *barbe* 'whisker, beard'
- bonite* /bonit/, *bonito* /bonito/ 'Sarda sarda, a marine fish' < Sp. *bonito* (a marine fish)
- brochet* /brofej/ 'Centropomus sp., the pike or snook' < Sp. *brocheta* 'spike'
- cachicama* /katʃikam, katʃikama/ 'Dasypus novemcinctus, the tatu, nine-banded armadillo' (archaic) < LAS < Amer. (Tamanaca)
- campanero* /kampanyero/ 'Procnias averano, the bearded bellbird' < Sp. *campanero* 'bell-ringer'
- carau* /karau/, *crao* /krao/ 'Aramus guarauna, the limpkin' < LAS *carau* (a bird)
- carite* /karit/ 'Scomberomorus brasiliensis, a mackerel' < LAS *carite* (a fish)
- cascabel* /kaskabel/ (1) (obs.) 'Bothrops atrox, the mapepire balsain, a venomous snake'; (2) 'Corallus enydri cookii, the Cook's tree boa, a non-venomous snake' < Sp. *cascabel* 'rattle, rattlesnake' (although the Trinidad cascabel is not venomous, it strongly resembles the Venezuelan cascabel, which has a rattle and is venomous.)
- cascabel dormilon* /kaskabel dõrmilan/ 'Corallus enydris cookii, the Cook's tree boa, a non-venomous snake' < Sp. *cascabel* 'rattle, rattlesnake' + FC *dormillant* 'sleeping' [i.e., because it is not in fact venomous nor does it have a rattle]
- cascadoo* /kaskadu/, *cascadura* /kaskadura/ 'any of several armoured fish, especially *Hoplosternum littorale*' < Sp. *cascara dura* 'hard shell'
- catalufa* /katalufa/ (a fish) < Sp. *cataluja*, *catalineta* (a fish)
- chat* /ʃat/ 'Callichthys sp., a flat-headed catfish' < Sp. *chato* 'flat'
- cigal*, *cigale* /sigal/ (a cicada) < Sp. *cigarra* 'a cicada'
- cigar* /siga:/ 'cicada' < Sp. *cigarra* 'a cicada'
- colibri* /kolibri/, *kwilibee* /kwilibi/ 'hummingbird' < LAS *colibri* 'hummingbird' < Amer.
- colorado* /kolõrao/ 'Spinus cucullatus, the red siskin' < Sp. *colorado* 'red'
- congaree* /kõngari/ 'marine eel-like fish, conger eels or moray eels, *Lycodontis* sp.' < Sp. *congrío*/Eng. *conger eel* 'conger eel'
- congoroche* /kõngorõtʃe/ ? 'Steirostoma depressum, the cocoa beetle, whose grub is very destructive to cocoa trees' < LAS *congorocho* 'centipede'

- cuckoo*, *coucou* /kuku/ 'Taraba major, the great antshrike' < Sp. *cucu*/Eng. *cuckoo* (a bird)
- cuckoo manioc* /kuku maniɔk/, *coucou mayok* /kuku mayɔk/ 'Piaya cayana, the squirrel cuckoo' Sp. *cucu*/Eng. *cuckoo* (a bird) + *manioc* 'bitter cassava' LAS < Amer.
- crao* (see *carau*)
- doncellas* /dɔnselas/ 'Halichoeres bivittatus, a small parrotfish found around jetties' < Sp. *doncella* 'maid, housemaid'
- espadron* /espadrɔn/ 'Pristis pectinatus, the sawfish' < Sp. *espadon* 'saw-fish'
- galap* /galap/ 'Rhinoclemmys punctularia, the fresh-water turtle' < Sp. *galapago* 'fresh-water turtle'
- garrapat* /garapat/, *carapatte* /karapat/, *garrapato* /garapato/ 'Ambylomma mixtum, a tick' < Sp. *garrapata* (a tick)
- gato-melao* /gato melao/ 'Eira barbara trinitatis, the tayra' < Sp. *gato* 'cat' + Sp. *melado* 'honey-coloured'
- gaulin* /gɔlin/ 'Butorides virescens, the green heron' < Sp. *gallina* 'hen, female chicken' (also other birds)
- gavilan* /gavilã, gabilã, gabilan/ 'hawk, especially Buteo platypterus, the broad-winged or chicken hawk' < Sp. *gavilan* '(chicken) hawk'
- guabine* see *wabeen*
- guacharo* /guatʃaro, watʃaro/ 'Steatornis caripensis, the oilbird' < LAS *guacharo* (a bird)
- guana* /gwana/ 'Iguana iguana, a lizard' < LAS *iguana* < Carib
- katraka* /katraka/? (pheasant-like bird, possibly the cocrico) (obs.) < Sp. *catraca* (a bird) < Amer.
- kukui* /kukui/ 'candlefly, firefly' < Sp. *cocuyo* 'firefly'
- lappe*, *lap* /lap/, *lapa* /lapa/ 'Cuniculus paca, a large rodent' < LAS *lapa* < Amer.
- lora* /lɔra/ 'Leptophis ahaetulla, a snake whose neck has a green-gold sheen' < Sp. *lora* 'female parrot'
- macajuel* /makawel/ 'Boa constrictor constrictor, a snake' < LAS *macaurel* (a snake) < Amer.
- machette* /matʃet/ 'Leptophis ahaetulla, a snake' < Sp. *machete* ('little mallet')
- malo* /malɔ/ 'Salvator merianae, a reptile' < Sp. *malo* 'bad'
- mama teta* /mama teta/ 'Hypostomus robinii, a fish that attaches itself to rocks by sucking with its mouth' < Sp. *mamar* 'suck' + Sp. *teta* 'teat'
- marabunta* /marabUnta/ (type of wasp) < LAS
- mariposa* /mariposa/? 'Chaetodon striatus, a marine fish' < Sp. *mariposa* 'butterfly'
- matapel* /matapel/, *mataperro* /matapero/, 'Myrmecophaga tridactyla, the great anteater' < Sp. *matar* 'to kill' + Sp. *perro* 'dog'

- matchin* /matʃɪn/ 'Cebus albifrons trinitatis, the capuchin monkey' (obs.) < LAS *machin* 'monkey' < Amer. (Colombia, Ecuador, Venezuela)
- matte, mat* /mat/ 'Tupinambis teguixin, the tegu lizard' < LAS *mato* (a lizard) < Amer. (Cumanagota)
- moriche* /mɔritʃ/ 'Icterus chryscephalus, the moriche oriole' < LAS *moriche* (an American singing blackbird) < LAS *moriche* (a palm) < Amer?
- morocoɣ* /mɔrɔkɔi/ 'Geochelone denticulata, the yellow-legged tortoise' < Sp. *morrocoyo* 'land tortoise' < Amer. (Taino?)
- oropendola* /ɔropendola/ 'Psarocolius decumanus, the crested oropendola' < Sp. *oropendola* (a bird)
- paraulata* /paraulata, parulata/ 'Mimus gilvus, the tropical mockingbird' < Sp. *paraulata* (type of thrush)
- pargue* /pa:g/ 'various marine snappers of the family Lutjanidae' < Sp. *pargo* (several similar fishes)
- patonero* /patɔnɛro/ (arch.) 'Pseudoboa newwiedii, a snake' < Sp. *ratonero* 'mouse-eater' (see also *ratonel*)
- pauji, paoui, pawi* /pawi/ 'Pipile pipile, the piping-guan' < LAS *pauji* (same bird) < Quechua
- pikoplat* /pikoplat/ 'Sporophila intermedia, the grey seedeater finch, or *Ramphocelus carbo*, the silver-beaked tanager' < Sp. *pico* 'beak' + Sp. *plata* 'silver'
- pilowki, pioki* /pɪlowki, pioki/ (insect) < Sp. *piojo* 'louse'
- pintade* /pɪntad/ 'Thamnophilus doliatus, the barred antshrike' < Sp. *pintada* 'Guinea hen'
- rabo frito* /rabo frito/ 'a juvenile Bothrops atrox snake' < Sp. *rabo* 'very short tail' + Sp. *frito* 'fried'
- ratonel* /ratonel/ 'Pseudoboa newwiedii, a snake' < Sp. *ratonero* 'mouse-eater' (see also *patonero*)
- ratonero* (see *ratonel*)
- rooti* /ruti/ 'Certhiaxis cinnamomea, the yellow-throated spinetail' < Sp. *rutilo* 'sparkling, shining, bright'
- sea-tatu* /si tatu/ (a type of banded crustacean, digs in sand) < Eng. *sea* 'marine' + LAS *tatu* 'armadillo' < Guarani
- tamandua* /tamandua/ 'Tamandua longicaudata longicaudata, the three-toed anteater' < LAS *tamandua* (same anteater) < Guarani
- tatu* /tatu/ 'Dasybus novemcinctus novemcinctus, the nine-banded armadillo' < LAS *tatu* 'armadillo' < Guarani
- tembladol* /tembladol/ 'Narcine brasiliensis, the electric eel' < Sp. *temblador* 'trembling, quivering, shaking'
- tia poco* /tia poko/ 'Ramphastos vitellinus, the channel-billed toucan' < Sp. *tia* 'aunt' + Sp. *poco* 'little bit'

- tigre* /tigrɛ/ '*Spilotes pullatus*, a black snake with yellow stripes' < Sp. *tigre* 'tiger'
tinterero /tinterero/ '*Carcharhinus falciformis*, the olive shark' < Sp. *tintero* 'inkwell'
toka (a bird) (obs.?) < Sp. *paloma de toca* 'pigeon, nun's dove' < Sp. *toca* 'wimple, headdress'
trompetero /trɒmpetɛro/ '*Fistularia tabacaria*, the trumpet-fish' < Sp. *trompetero* 'trumpet-fish'
wabeen /wabin/ '*Rivulus hartii*, a small freshwater fish' < LAS < Amer. (Antilles, Colombia, Venezuela)
zagaya /zagaya/ '*Graspus* sp., a marine crab' < Sp. *zagaya* 'small dart or lance'

Appendix C: Spanish Lexicon in TEC, General

- adult* 'to forgive, atone' < Sp. *indultar* 'to forgive, exempt' < Latin
agua 'a nut handed over by the winner to the loser, to enable a game to restart, in blochay' (arch.) < LAS *agua* 'money' (Peru)
aguinaldo /aguinaldo/ 'a type of Spanish Christmas carol' < Sp.
ahwo /awo/ 'a friendly greeting, usually to someone some distance away' < Sp. *aho* 'call used to hail someone'
albacea dativo 'court-appointed executor of a will' (hist.) Sp. *albacea dativo* 'court-appointed executor'
alcalde /alkalde/ 'magistrate, councillor' (hist.) < Sp. *alcalde* 'magistrate'
alcalde de barrio 'type of magistrate' (hist.) < Sp. *alcalde de barrio* 'justice of the peace for a ward'
alguazil /algwazil/ 'police constable, officer' (hist.) < Sp. *alguacil* 'constable, police officer' < Arabic
almide 'a unit of liquid measure, about a gallon' (obs.) < Sp. *medir* 'to measure'
alpagat /alpagat/, *alpagata* /alpagata/ 'a flat leather or rubber-soled sandal with woven top' < Sp. *alpargata* 'hemp sandal tied with ribbons'
annisao /anisaio/ 'an anise-flavored rum drink' < Sp. *annisado* 'flavored with anise'
arepa /arepa/ 'a fried triangular patty of corn meal with a meat filling' < LAS *arepa* 'circular bread, us. cornmeal' < Amer.
aroba, *arroba* 'a measure of weight, 25 lbs.' (obs.) < Sp. *arroba* '25 pound measure'
avena 'a fermented corn beverage' < Sp. ? *avena* 'oats'
ayayay /aiaiai/ 'exclamation of indignation, distress, surprise or pleasure' < Sp. *ayayay* 'expression usually of worry, pain'
ayo /ayo/ 'of a kite, to fly away after the string is broken' < Sp. *adios* 'goodbye'

- ayo panch* /ayo pant/ 'an exclamation describing someone's speedy disappearance' < Sp. *ayo* < *adios* 'goodbye' + Sp. *pancho* 'lazy stupid person'
- azil* /azil/ 'a slow-moving, short-beaked, fighting cock or hen with a very broad, heavy, stocky body, usually black-red feathers, with great endurance and stamina' < Sp. < ?Eng. < ?India idem.
- bacaday* /bakade/ 'a loading wharf, especially one particular area in San Fernando' < Sp. *embarcadero*/Fr. *embarcadère* 'loading wharf'
- bacalao* /bakalao/ 'salted dried codfish' < Sp./Ptg. *bacalao* 'salted codfish'
- bacchanal* /bakanal/ 'a wild party or fete; disorder' < Sp. *bacanal* 'orgy, disorder, tumult'
- bagasse* /bagas/ 'residue of sugar cane after juice is pressed out' < Sp. *bagazo* /Fr. *bagasse* 'residue of things squeezed for juice'
- bandol* /bandol/, *bandola* /bandola/ 'a tenor instrument with four double strings and a flat back' < Sp. *bandolin* 'an instrument with four double strings and a rounded back'
- barriga de vieja* 'type of cassava pudding' < Sp. *barriga* 'belly' + *de* 'of' + *vieja* 'old woman'
- batallando* /batayando/ 'struggling' (said in reply to greeting enquiring how you are) < Sp. *batallar* 'to fight, struggle in life'
- bebeiz* /bebeiz/, *bebediso* /bebediso/, 'a medicinal drink given to women after childbirth' < Sp. *bebedizo* 'medicinal drink, love potion'
- bich* /bit/ 'a dysenteric disease of poultry' < Sp. *bicho* 'fowl cholera'
- bisquankay* /biskwanke/ 'describing something twisted or falling apart, or an awkward, clumsy person' < Sp. (Aragon) *bizcuerno-a* 'person with cross-eyes or twisted limbs'
- blochay* 'a game played with nuts thrown in a hole in the ground' < ? LAS *brocha* 'a game'
- boca* /boka/ 'sea channel between the islands off the northwest peninsula of Trinidad' < Sp. *boca* 'entrance, exit, mouth, inlet' < Latin
- bole* /boli/ 'a calabash hollowed out as a water container' < LAS *bolo* 'tender calabash' < Amer.
- bolo* /bolo/ 'an underhand punch' < Sp. *bollo* 'punch, hit'
- botuella de compuesta* /botwela de compwesta/ 'a mixture of herbs steeped in alcohol used as an antidote for snake or scorpion bites' < Sp. *botella* + *de* + *compuesta* 'bottle of compound, mixture'
- boy* /boi/, *boyo* /boyo/ 'a steamed cornmeal dumpling, oval with pointed ends, hollow inside' < Sp. *bollo* 'spongy dough dumpling' < ? kiKongo *mbolo* 'cake'
- bucha sangray* /butʃa sangre/ 'in cockfighting, a wound in the bird's neck, with bleeding inside, resulting in swelling, choking and death' < S *buche* (*d*) *sangre* idem. (Sp. *buche* 'crop, mouthful' + *sangre* 'blood')

- burroquet* /bʊrokit/ 'a carnival masquerade which appears to be a donkey and its rider' < Sp. *burrito* 'little donkey'
- bukara* /bukara/ 'a red clay used for pottery' < Sp. *bucaro* 'clay' < Latin *bottle* /batəl/ 'a measure, usually liquid, about a quart' < Sp. *botella*/Eng. *bottle* 'bottle, liquid measure about a quart'
- cabecera* /kabesera/ 'headland, vantage point, high point of land' (arch.) < LAS *cabez* /kabez/, *cabesa* /kabesa/ 'cleverness, smartness' < Sp. *cabeza* 'head, brains, judgement'
- cabresse* /kɒbwes/ 'person of mixed Indian and Spanish ancestry, sometimes with some African' < LAS *cabres/cabrerres* 'Indians from Colombia and Venezuela'
- cabildo* /kabilɔ/ 'municipal council' (hist.) < LAS *cabildo* 'ecclesiastic body, town council' < Amer.? or Latin *capitulu(m)*
- cacique* /kasik/ 'Indian leader' (hist.) 'village headman' (hist.) < LAS *cacique* 'provincial or Indian chieftain' < Amer.
- cachap* /katʃap/ 'cornmeal dumpling' < LAS *cachapa* 'corn muffin' < Amer.
- canabai* 'a fighting cock or hen with a white neck and tail, brown chest, and half wing white' < Sp. *canaguay* 'white colour on the wing of any fowl'
- canaree* /kanari/ 'a large earthenware jar used for storing or cooking food' < LAS *canari* 'earthenware jar' < Carib
- canoe* /kanoe/ 'a fighting cock or hen with white feathers above, brown or black on the mid-body, and white underneath' < Sp. *cano* 'white-haired, white'; ?Sp. *canoco* 'pale')
- canook, conuco* 'a cultivated plot of land' (obs.) < LAS *conuco* 'cultivated plot of land' < Amer. (Taino)
- capiche* /kapitʃ/, *capriche* /kapritʃ/ 'a superstitious act which brings good luck, especially in gambling' < Sp. *capricho* 'whim, by good luck'
- caradol, cariadol* /karadɔl, kariadɔl/ 'a lower quality fighting cock used as a sparring partner for training or practice' < LAS *careador* 'fighting cock handler'
- cariadol* see *caradol*
- casa* /kasa/ 'owner/manager of a gambling house' < Sp. *casa* 'owner of gambling house' *casa real* 'residence of the corregidor' (hist.) < Sp. *casa real* 'royal palace'
- castillan* /kastiɣã, kastiyan/ 'a waltz' < Sp. *castellano* 'from Castile' or *castellana* 'type of verse'
- chinchora* 'hammock' < LAS *chinchorro* < Amer?
- chupon* /tʃupõ/ 'a secondary shoot or sucker on a tree' < Sp.
- chuponeer* /tʃupɒnɪr/ 'to prune, remove excess shoots from a tree' < Sp. *chupon* 'sucker of a tree' + -ir (verb)

- clear* /kli:/ 'light colour complexion' < Eng. *clear* + Sp. *claro* 'light complexion'
- cocal* /kokal/ 'a stretch of coconut palms along the east coast of Trinidad' < LAS *cocal* 'place planted with coconut trees' < *coco* 'coconut' + Sp. *-al* (place full of a plant) *coco* /koko/ 'a butt with the head' < Sp. *coco* 'head, skull'
- confetti* 'sweet candied fruit peel' < Sp. *confite* 'round sweets' / Fr. *confit* 'candied fruit'
- comai* /kɔmai/ 'godmother to one's child' < Sp. *comadre*/Fr. *comère* 'godmother to one's child'
- compai* /kɔmpai/ < Sp. *compadre*/Fr. *compère* 'godfather to one's child'
- concurso* 'official assembly' (hist.) < Sp. *concurso* 'assembly, gathering'
- contraveneno* 'antidote to snakebite' < Sp. *contraveneno* 'antidote'
- conuquero* 'small farmer, person who cultivates a small amount of land' (obs., hist.) < LAS *conuquero* 'conuco worker or owner' < Amer. *conuco* + Sp. *-ero* 'person who does'
- corregidor* 'Spanish colonial governor' (hist.) < Sp. *corregidor* 'colonial governor of Indians'
- crazau* /krezau/ 'scatterbrained' < Eng *crazy* + Sp *-au* < *-ado* (participial adjective)
- creole* /kriol/ 'born in Trinidad, local' < Sp. *criollo* 'born in the Americas'
- cuatro* /kwatro/ 'a small 4-stringed guitar' < LAS (Venezuela)
- cubrada* /kUbrada/ 'gully, ravine' < Sp. *quebrada* 'ravine, gorge'
- cuscuma* /kUskuma/ 'unattractive' < ? Sp. *cusma* 'Indian garment' < Amer.
- debaray* /debare/, *debariar* /debariar/ 'to do light pruning, especially of cocoa trees' < Sp. *desvastigar* 'prune'
- decima* /desima/ 'type of verbal song duel' < Sp. *decima* 'type of verse' < Latin
- depunta* /depUnta/ 'to remove tips of branches to balance a young tree' < Sp. *despuntar* 'remove a tip'
- do* /du/ 'harm' < Eng. *do*, often translation of *hacer* + 'do something to someone' + Sp. *hacer* 'do someone [harm]'
- don* /dan/ 'a fighting cock or hen with grey feathers underneath and on wings, a light brown nape (back of the neck), and dark brown or red on back' < Sp.?
- douen* /dwen/ 'the spirit of a child who has died unbaptized, and who lures children away to play' < Sp. *duende* 'haunting spirit causing confusion'
- escribano* /eskribano/ 'court clerk' (hist.) < Sp. *escribano* 'court clerk, notary' < Latin
- estabone* 'measure of about 110 inches, just over 9 feet' (hist.) < Sp.
- estribillo* 'type of parang song in which stanzas of verse are followed by same refrain' < Sp. 'refrain, chorus, theme'
- estadal* /estadal/ 'a land measure, 100 square varas' < Sp.

- fandang* /fandang/ 'a type of dance' < Sp. *fandango* 'a type of dance'
- faneg* /faneg/, *fanega* /fanega/ 'a measure of weight, about 110 lbs., especially for cocoa and coffee' < Sp. *fanega*
- faneg* /faneg/, *fanega* /fanega/ 'a measure of land, 2 quarees, 6.9 acres' (hist.) < Sp. *fanega* 'measure of area, about 6.5 acres, the area needed to sow a fanega of seed' < Arabic
- faneja* /faneha/ 'a liquid measure, about 8 gallons' (obs.) < Sp. *fanega* 'measure of capacity' < Arabic?
- faramayel* 'to show off, make style' < Sp. *faramallero*
- francomen* /frankomen/ 'frankly, honestly' < Sp. *francamente* 'frankly'
- fuma* /fuma/ 'smoke used to destroy ant-nests' < Sp. *fumar* 'to smoke'
- galeron* 'a type of song' < LAS 'type of popular song, to which people dance and sing verses' < Sp. *ganancias* 'property rights of a married woman' (hist.) < Sp.
- gancia* /gansia/ 'cheap wine; vermouth' < Sp. *Gancia* 'a brand of vermouth'
- garapacha* /garapatja/ 'type of fish trap' < LAS < Amer.
- gayal* /gayal, gayel/ 'fighting cock ring, stickfighting ring' < Sp. *gallera* 'cockpit'
- gayap* /gayap/ 'cooperative work group' < LAS *cayapa* 'work cooperative' < Amer. (Cumanagotan)
- gayin*, *gayen* /gayin, gayen/ 'a fighting cock of any colour, with all the tail feathers short and the same length, the cock thus resembling a hen' < Sp. *gayia* < *gallina* 'hen'
- gullet* /gʊlet, gʌlet/ 'a hooked knife, usually on a pole, used to cut down cocoa pods' < FC *golete*/Sp. *goleta*
- goubby* /gʊbi/ 'a hollow gourd with lianes plaited around it, used to carry liquids' < Sp. *gubilete* 'metal cup'
- hato* 'a stock farm' (obs.) < Sp. *hato* 'livestock farm, ranch'
- have belly* 'have courage, be brave' < Sp. *tener estomago* 'able to bear, brave' (possible influence from Fr. *avoir de l'estomac* 'show boldness, audacity', and from Eng. meaning of 'show spirit, courage, bravery' obsolete since c. 1660s in standard Eng.)
- have head* 'clever, tricky' < Eng. calque of Sp. *tener cabeza* 'to be clever'
- have years* (indicating age) < Eng. calque of Sp. *tener años*/Fr. *avoir ans* 'to have years' (age), e.g., "I have fourteen years."
- ingenios* 'sugar cane estate' (hist.) < Sp. *ingenio de azúcar* 'sugar mill or plantation'
- jefe* /hefe/ 'important person, big shot' < Sp. *jefe* 'chief, boss, leader, superior'
- jefe civil* /hefe sivil/ 'important person in town/country' < Sp. *jefe* 'chief, boss, leader' + Sp. *civil* 'municipal'
- jorop* /hɔrop/, *joropo* /hɔropo/ 'a dance' < Sp. *joropo* 'a dance' (Venezuela)

- koskel* /kɔskel/ 'in garish bad taste, loud mismatched colours' < Sp. *cosquillas* 'tickling' *lagoon* /lagun/ 'a small temporary pond from rainfall', 'a stream emptying into the sea' < Sp. *laguna* 'pond' < Latin
- laniappe* /lanyap/ 'extra bit given free by vendor to customer' < LAS *la ñapa* 'bonus' < Amer. (Quechua)
- latro* /latro/, *lastro* /lastro/ 'low forest, especially previously cultivated fields overtaken by bush' < Sp. *rastrero* 'harvested field'
- loraison* /lɔzrezɔ/ 'healing prayer' < Sp. *las oraciones* 'prayers'
- lorito* /lɔrito/ 'pet name for a parrot' < Sp. 'little parrot'
- macha palante* /matʃa palante/, *macha palanto* /matʃa palanto/ 'walk quickly' < Sp. *marcha para adelante* 'walk ahead, forward'
- maga* /maga, mɔga/ 'thin' < Sp. *magro-a*/Fr. *maigre* 'thin' < Latin
- make cold* 'to be cold' (of the weather) < Eng. calque of Sp. *hacer tiempo frío*/Fr. *faire froid*
- make hot* 'to be warm, hot' (of the weather) < Eng. calque of Sp. *hacer tiempo calor*/Fr. *faire chaud*
- make pacotee* /pakoti/ 'to have a good time, to spree; to have illicit sexual activity' < Sp. *pacotilla* 'a group of people having a good time' (often lower class) (/Fr.? see also *pacotee*)
- maljo* /maljo/ 'evil eye' < Sp. *mal de ojo* 'evil eye'
- mamaguy* /mamagai/ 'tease, fool, flatter' < Sp. *mamar gallo* 'to make a monkey of, mock, pull leg'
- mandolin* /mandolin/ 'pear-shaped musical instrument with a flat back, four double strings' < Sp.
- mano mano* /mano mano/, *manos manos* /manos manos/ 'carried out between two people without outside involvement, e.g. argument, bet, or conflict' < Sp. *mano a mano* lit. 'hand to hand'
- manojos* 'a measure of tobacco, 5 lbs.' (arch.) < Sp. *manejo* 'handful'
- manzanares* /manzanares/ 'a type of song' < LAS 'songs celebrating the Manzanares River in Cumana, Venezuela' < river in Spain
- mariko* /mariko/, *maricon* /marikɔ/ 'a homosexual man' < Sp. *maricon* 'effeminate man'
- massamorja de maíz* 'a type of corn pudding' < LAS
- matador* /matador/ 1. 'carnival masquerade of bullfighter'; 2. 'woman who is aggressive, stylish, independent' < Sp. 'bullfighter'
- monton*, *montone* 'an earth mound used to plant crops' (obs.) < Sp. *monton* 'mound of soil constructed for the planting of tubers, improve soil drainage, or provide sufficient humus'
- nature* 'sexual drive, desire' < Eng. calque of Sp. *natura* 'genitals'/*naturaleza* 'sexual desire' < Latin

- pacotee pack-o'-tea* /pakoti/ 1. 'worthless thing, thing of little value'; 2. 'a loose or promiscuous woman' < Sp. *pacotilla*/Fr. *pacotille* 'inferior goods' also Sp. *pacotilla* 'a group of people having a good time' (often lower class)
- palang* /palang/ 'a long fishing line with hooks attached at intervals' < Sp. *palangre*
- pallet* /palet/ 'a long wooden stick with a flat end used to move bread in an oven, or a flat wooden stick used to turn flat bread' < Sp. *paleta* 'fire shovel, poker, spatula'/Eng. *pallet* 'long, thin, wooden board'
- panyol*, *payol* /pāyol/ 'a Trinidadian of Spanish descent; a Venezuelan' < Sp. *español* 'Spanish'
- papelon* 'a conical loaf of dark brown sugar, usually wrapped in banana leaves' (obs.) < LAS *papelon* 'conical mold of raw sugar' < Sp *papel* 'paper'
- parandera* /parandera/, *parandero* /parandero/ 'female, male parang singer' < Sp. *parrandero-a* 'person on spree, usually playing music'
- parang* /parang/ 'music played at Christmastime, usually by people going from house to house' < Sp. *parranda* 'serenading, going out and singing'
- paseo* 'a dance' < LAS *pasillo* 'a popular folkloric type of song and dance' < ? Sp. *paseo* 'stroll'
- paso* 'pace, unit of measure about 55 inches' (hist.) < Sp.
- pastel* /pastel/ 'a dish made of a cornmeal crust and spicy meat filling' < Sp. *pastel* 'sweet or meat-stuffed cornmeal crust' < Fr. < Latin
- pavil* 'a torch made of cloth soaked in beeswax' < LAS < ?
- peon*, *piong* /piŋ/ 1. 'person of Spanish descent who immigrated to work in Trinidad'; 2. 'aficionado, ardent fan' < Sp. *peon* 'labourer'
- picadol* /pikadol/ 'a knife with short handle and blade used to crack open cocoa pods' < Sp. *picador* 'person who sticks bulls with short spear'
- picong* /pikŋ/ 'teasing, ritualized ridicule' < Sp. *picon* 'trick, joke, ridicule'
- pint* /pint/ 'a fighting cock or hen with white and black, white and red, or silver and white feathers' < Sp. *pinta* 'spot, mark dot', *pintao* < Sp. *pintado* 'spotted, dotted, mottled, speckled'
- planasse* /planas/ 'a blow with the flat side of a cutlass' < Sp. *plana* 'flat' + *azo* 'hit'
- pocapoc* /pokapok/ 'slowly, little by little' < Sp. *poco a poco* 'little by little, slowly'
- poncha creme*, *poncha crema* /pʌntʃa kɾem, pʌntʃa kɾema, pʌntʃa krim/ 'a drink made of rum, milk, sugar and spices' < Sp. *ponche* 'rum drink' < + Sp. *crema* 'cream'
- poposeet flute* /poposit/ 'a small vertical flute' < Sp.? + Eng. 'flute'
- poyo* /poyɔ/ 'young inexperienced fighting cock which hasn't yet fought battles' < Sp. *pollo* 'chicken, young chicken'
- procurador* 'town clerk?' (hist.) < Sp. 'lawyer/solicitor, town clerk or treasurer'

- procurador syndic* [govt. or legal official] (hist.) < Sp. *procurador sindico* 'village representative on a council'
- pooch* /putʃ/ 'buttocks' < ? Sp. *pucho* 'tip or butt, e.g., cigar'
- pueblo* 'Indian mission station' (hist.) < Sp. 'town, village'
- pulgada* 'inch' (hist.) < Sp.
- quarilla* 'a dry measure' (obs.) < Sp. ?
- quintal* 'a measure of 100 lbs.' (obs.) < Sp. *quintal* 'weight measure'
- rachifée* /ratʃifi/ 'cheating, corruption, trickery' < ? Sp. *racha* 'brief period of good luck in gambling' [or Eng. *retrofit* 'to force something to fit, to use something not originally designed for the task']
- raff* /raf, ra:f/ 'to steal by snatching or grabbing; quick snatch, grab' < Sp. *rafaga* 'gust of wind, blast'/Fr. *rafle* 'to sweep away, snatch away'
- ranch* /rantʃ/ 'a small wooden house or shelter' < Sp. *rancho* 'shanty, humble thatched house'
- rat* /rat/ 'promiscuous woman, prostitute' < Sp. *rata* 'woman of the moment' + Eng. *rat*
- rebucan* 'a smaller, second harvest of cocoa pods' < Sp. *rebuscar* 'look for again, glean' *regidor* 'town councillor' (hist.) < Sp. *regidor* 'councillor attached to a cabildo'
- roundeer* /raundir/ 'to clean the area around a tree of weeds' < Eng. *round* + Sp. *-ir* (verb) or ? Sp. *rondar* 'to go around'
- sabana blanca* 'a type of song' < Sp. ? 'white sheet, altar cloth'
- sambo* /sambo/ 'offspring of a mulatto and a Negro' < Sp. *zambo* 'offspring of an Indian and a Negro' [< African?]
- sancoch*, *sancoche* /sankotʃ/ *sancocho* /sankotʃo/ 'a stew made with meat and root vegetables' < LAS *sancocho* 'a stew'
- sangaree* 'a drink made with wine' < Sp. *sangria* 'wine and fruit drink'
- santiwa* /santiwa/ 'to heal by special prayers' < Sp. *santiguar* 'to heal by prayer' < Latin
- sapat* /sapat/ 'a sandal with a wooden sole and rubber or leather strap across the front of the foot' < Sp. *zapato* 'shoe' < Turkish
- savanna* /savana/ 'wide treeless plain' < Sp. *sabana* 'wide treeless plain' < Amer. (Carib)
- sebucan* /sebukā/ 1. 'woven basket used as cassava squeezer'; 2. 'a Maypole-type dance which resembles this weaving' < LAS *sebucan* 'cassava squeezer' < Amer.
- serenal* /serenal/ 'type of parang song' < Sp. *serenata* 'serenade, or music for this'
- shac-shac* /ʃak ʃak/ 'rattle' < LAS *shac-shac* 'sound of maracas' < Amer.
- tache* 'large shallow sugar evaporating pan' < LAS *tacho* 'large shallow sugar evaporating pan'

- tapia* /tapia/ 'mud and grass wall construction' < Sp. *tapia* 'earth bricks' < Latin/Arabic *tassa salay* /tasa sale/ 'dried salt beef' (arch.) < Sp. *tasajo* 'dry smoked meat' + Sp. *salado*/(more probably) Fr. *salee* 'salted'
- tasso* /taso/ 'dried salt beef' (arch.) < Sp. *tasajo* 'dry smoked meat' < Portuguese
- taxador* 'public assessor' (hist.) < Sp. *tasador* 'public assessor'
- terital* 'place with many terite/tirite canes, *Ischnosiphon arouma*' < LAS < *terite* Amer. + Sp. *-al* (place full of a plant)
- timital* 'place with many timite palms, *Manicaria saccifera*' < Amer. *timite* + Sp. *-al* (place full of a plant)
- tiple* 'small treble metal-stringed instrument' < Sp.
- trabesau* /trabesau/ 'person of mixed racial descent' < Sp. *atravesado* 'mulatto, mixed race'
- trapich*, *trapitch* /trapitʃ/ 'a type of hand-operated sugar cane mill' < Sp. *trapiche*
- tumbau* /tumbau/ 'in cockfighting, an injury in which one cock's spur touches a nerve in the wounded cock's leg, resulting in an inability to stand, sometimes permanent' < Sp. *tumbado* 'knocked down, stunned, overcome, thrown down, keeled over'
- vara* /vara/ 'linear measure of about 33 inches'; 'area of land equal to about 3-5 acres' < Sp. (some variations in exact length) < Latin
- vega* /vega/ 'river valley or hollow' < Sp. 'fertile lowland'
- Velorio de Cruz* /velorio de kruz/ 'Cross wake' < Sp.
- wabeen* /wabin/ 'promiscuous woman, common, of loose morals' < *wabeen*, *guabine* '*Rivulus hartii*, a small common freshwater fish, often found in drains' < LAS < Amer.
- warap* /warap/ 'a type of parang song with a fast beat' < LAS
- warap* /warap/ 'sugar-cane juice' LAS < *guarapo* < Quechua *hwarapu*
- wepa* /wepa/ 'an exclamation' < Sp. *epa* 'to cheer up, animate'
- wires*, *guaya*, *guayaguayare*, *guayare* 'a wicker basket carried on the back' (obs.) < LAS *guayare* < Amer.

NOTES

1. The authors are grateful for help to Hans E. A. Boos, Yasmin Baksh Comeau, Lancelot Cowie, Steven Lee Hartman, Sylvia Moodie-Kublalsingh, Clarita Rivas, and Glen Wilkes; final judgments – and errors – are of course our responsibility. We also appreciate support from the Office of Research Development and Administration, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale.

2. The decline of the Amerindian population is difficult to estimate. Newson (1976:76-77) gives the population of Trinidad at the time of conquest as 20,000-30,000, and that of three centuries later as about 2,000. In 1592, it was estimated at 15,000-20,000, half what it had been prior to conquest. The main causes of this decline were the enslaving raids of the Spanish and the Caribs, deaths from "battles which were attempts to prevent the Spanish from settling in the island" (Newson 1976:78), and indirect consequences of this conflict: the Indians could "no longer devote their full attention to food production, neither could they exploit effectively the island's resources since considerations of defence demanded the movement of settlements inland" (Newson 1976:78).

3. "African languages of the Negroid inheritance exerted little influence on Trinidadian Spanish" as the proportion of Spanish colonizers to African slaves was relatively high and most of the earlier African population was brought by the French (Laurence 1970:75). Lipski, comparing Trinidadian Spanish with the *bozal* Spanish varieties developed and used by African-born slaves and their descendants, also concluded that

Although Trinidad Spanish exhibits nonstandard characteristics, as well as creoloid forms resulting from the gradual erosion, there is little convergence with demonstrably related creoles such as Palenquero and Papiamentu... if creoloid structures were already present in Trinidad *bozal* Spanish, subsequent contact with creole French would be expected to reinforce and extend these constructions. That this has not occurred weakens claims regarding inevitable relexification of existent creoles, and suggests that Spanish as spoken by Africans in Trinidad passed from an unstable pidgin to a stable nonstandard but noncreolized dialect of Spanish. (Lipski 1990:23)

4. During the period of time between Capitulation and the abolition of slavery in 1834-8, immigration to Trinidad was characterized by extreme variety: Madeirans, Chinese, Venezuelans, Africans, Black Americans, French/French Creole-speaking French and French Creole planters and their African and Creole slaves, English/English Creole-speaking planters and their African and Creole slaves. After 1845, the massive immigration of indentured laborers from India added a significant element to the ethnic and linguistic makeup of the island.

5. In the north at Toco, Salibia, Matura, Cumana, Tacarigua, Caura, Arima, San Francisco de la Arena, and Arouca; in the center at Savonetta, San Fernando, Princes Town and Montserrat; and at Siparia in the south. (Laurence 1970:54).

6. *Batallando* and *macha palanto* are still used in TEC.

7. Richards posits a lack of linguistic competence in English, and aesthetic sentiment:

It seems plausible to assume that these words of Spanish origin have survived in the English-based dialect of Trinidad because hard-core dialect speakers [sic], in general, are not

aware of the English equivalents of these forms. Besides, synonymous English terms tend to be less concise and lack the vividness of the dialect forms (Richards 1970:265).

8. Newson points out that "since many of the indian groups were provoked into attack by bad treatment at the hands of the Spanish, and since indians designated as Carib or 'cannibal' could be enslaved whereas Arawaks could not, the extent of Carib settlement is likely to have been exaggerated" (1976:18).

9. Richards posits the source of *saga boy*, 'a young man who dresses flashily and lives a carefree life' as the Spanish word *zagal*, in its sense of "mozo fuerte, animoso y gallardo" (1970). However, a more likely source is the English *swagger*, as seen in an article about dance halls, mentioning "swagger" clothes and "swagger dancing" (*Trinidad Guardian*, 6 Feb. 1921:7).

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BOOK REVIEWS

The quality of life in Barbados. GRAHAM DANN. London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Publishers, 1984. xiv + 290 pp. (Paper UK £5.95)

The Barbadian male: sexual attitudes and practice. GRAHAM DANN. London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Publishers, 1987. x + 228 pp. (Paper UK £5.95)

As the author of a comprehensive bibliography on a Caribbean country - Barbados, in fact, and compiled jointly with Graham Dann (Potter and Dann, 1987) - I am aware that a considerable volume of social survey research is completed within the region. Most of this is timely, purposeful and socially relevant, and seeks to address issues of contemporary social and economic pertinence. Unfortunately, for a variety of reasons, but frequently because the work has been undertaken as part of a paid consultancy, the findings rarely see the light of day in the academic and public domains. At best, some of this work is published regionally by institutes and small publishing houses, but its circulation is all too frequently little more than highly parochial, even when the materials warrant wider dissemination and reflection.

For this reason alone, Dr. Graham Dann has achieved a very great deal with the appearance of these two volumes. He has not only brought to completion two extensive social survey research projects investigating aspects of contemporary Barbadian life which are of intrinsic importance, but he has prepared these for publication with a major international house - Macmillan Caribbean - thereby serving to ensure the wide circulation of his findings, both within the Caribbean and beyond. This is a tall order as anyone who has endeavoured to interest publishers in a proposed volume with even a pan-Caribbean focus will readily testify. To have completed this task within the space of three calendar years, and for the books to deal with the same single Caribbean territory, albeit

one of the More Developed Countries, must be viewed as a considerable achievement.

The quality of life and the Barbadian male are the latest in a long line of works, primarily based on first-hand small- to medium-scale social surveys that have been produced by Graham Dann since he joined the academic staff of the University of the West Indies at its Cave Hill Campus in Barbados in 1975. As the back copy blurb of *Quality of life* relates, just four years after joining the staff he was promoted to the position of Senior Lecturer. Those in the orbit of U.W.I. will be aware that he has just finished a term of three years as Head of the Department of Government and Sociology.

The precursors to the present books produced by Graham Dann followed the pattern outlined earlier, in that they were published either locally or by specialist academic institutes. All took Barbados as their specific remit. These included a popular guide to the tourist, an edited collection of papers on patterns of day-to-day life (Dann 1979) and a study of drinking and alcoholism in Barbados (Dann 1980).

As I have commented elsewhere (Potter 1985), the initial significance of this book derives from the fact that trends in progressive development planning are stressing the salience of social aspects of change and welfare-based approaches. The pursuit of more appropriate forms of development is being advocated, in the guise of basic needs fulfillment and agropolitan development, in association with principles of sustainable development. A greater focus on the use of indigenous resources - both human and physical - is stressed by such approaches. The unquestioning adoption by developing countries of First World norms of consumption should be a thing of the past. In short, such perspectives reflect the growing realisation that development should not merely be about material progress, but rather an effort to increase net societal welfare by means which maintain a healthy balance between people and the environment.

It follows from this that the analysis of societal change should consider so-called "soft" or subjective as well as "hard" or objective indicators. The subjective indicators approach hails from the 1970s, when the first co-ordinated rumblings were heard against the uncritical adoption of western-based economic growth-oriented paradigms of Third World development.

Macmillan's assertion, therefore, that *The quality of life* provides the first ever comprehensive study of the quality of life in a developing country is one that should be taken seriously. The origins of the book extend back to the period immediately before Graham Dann took up appointment at the University of the West Indies, when he was briefly attached to the Survey Unit of the then Social Science Research Council in London at the time when the use of subjective social indicators was being explored by Mark Abrams (1973) and his colleagues. In fact, in several sections of *Quality of life* Graham Dann sets his Barbadian

research findings against statistics derived from the earlier U.K.-based work (see, for example, Table 17, p. 60).

The first sentence of chapter 1 of *The quality of life* reads "Paradoxically, for many countries of the Third World, development and progress are often accompanied by a feeling that all is far from well within the society" (p. 1). This simple introduction pinpoints the nub of the social indicators movement, for while so-called objective consumption-oriented conditions are apparently improving, peoples' relative and subjective evaluations of their lives - economic, social and spiritual - may be deteriorating markedly. The remainder of chapter 1 presents a brief but spirited review of subjective social indicators and the quality of life approach.

Dann then documents his sampling design and methodology in chapter 2. A detailed interview schedule was administered by a survey team in 1981. The schedule is reproduced in Appendix A, and the computer code book is reproduced in full as Appendix B. Both author and publisher are to be congratulated for recognising the importance of this material if readers are to be in a position to assess realistically the findings of the survey - something that is all too frequently forgotten in the rush to reduce costs. In total, 865 Barbadians were interviewed, and the overall sample was carefully stratified by socio-geographic area to give a balance between urban, suburban, and rural residents, as well as controlling for sex, age, marital status, class, and income.

The main body of the text is contained in chapters 3 to 9 where the seven life domains chosen for consideration are discussed in turn: housing, district, education, employment, leisure, health and religion. Some might point to the omission of family life as a key domain, but perhaps this is partly vindicated by the later appearance of *The Barbadian male*. One of the major strengths of the volume is that each chapter provides an overview of the life domain under study. These are derived from local knowledge and press cuttings, plus a scattering of those objective indicators which are to be found - often in the volumes of the census, and in official statistics.

The chapter on housing exemplifies well the approach adopted. It opens with a six-page account of the history of housing and residential tenure from the abolition of slavery in 1838, and stresses the importance of the tenancies (see also Potter 1989). The account then deals with legislation passed in 1980 which was intended to alleviate the problems associated with the insecurity of tenure engendered by these plantation-related residential areas. This is followed by ten pages which deal with objective indicators of housing conditions, including ownership, material, size, utilities, surroundings, overcrowding and length of residence. Only then are the results of the social survey work presented, in this case in a further six pages of text in an account which is concerned with overall satisfaction scores, and housing as a ranked domain.

By such means, Dann is able to blend evidence from his own survey with that from primary sources and the mass media, and in so doing, manages to present the interested reader with a mass of information and ideas. The book is written in an accessible and flowing manner, a style which is only impeded here and there when too much emphasis is placed on presenting correlation coefficients to back-up the line of argument being put forward. As a geographer, I would have appreciated it if more of the interview survey results had been broken down by geographical area, for when this is done, as in the account on the provision of household amenities by place of residential location (see p. 54), the results are of great interest.

There are bound to be those who criticise *The quality of life* for attempting to quantify the essentially subjective evaluations of groups of people. Yet others will assert stridently no doubt that the conclusions presented in the final chapter ('Conclusion: a glimpse of the future') far and away outrun the materials presented in the main body of the text. Although both these views have their foundations, I believe that they fail to appreciate fully the real significance of the contribution made by *The quality of life*. In this book Dann has provided a methodological approach that planners, development experts, and other decision-makers would do well to pick up as a template for their endeavours, if they are indeed serious in their efforts to take into account the views and experiences of the people on whose behalf they are planning. In these terms alone, the importance of *The quality of life in Barbados* transcends the single country that forms the focus of its inquiry.

Much the same point can be made concerning *The Barbadian male*, for within it, Graham Dann has attempted to fill a Caribbean-wide lack of information on menfolk in the region, by means of pursuing in rigorous detail the Barbadian case. In so doing, however, he employs a somewhat different methodological approach to that of *Quality of life*. In this study, great emphasis is placed on the employment of case histories and extended quotations. The origins of the volume lie with the International Planned Parenthood Federation's commissioning of three studies of male attitudes to sex, family planning and parenthood in the Eastern Caribbean region. These studies, funded by a USAID grant, were conducted in St. Lucia, Grenada and Barbados.

In *The Barbadian male* far greater reliance is placed on the evidence derived from the interview survey than in *Quality of life*. In the introduction, Dann notes that the work is not intended as a Kinsey-style island-wide report, but consists rather of the presentation of a series of trends emanating from 185 in-depth interviews conducted in Barbados between February and April 1985. Although the interview schedule is highly detailed (see Appendix B), many open questions are used, as befits the subject. Accordingly, every interview was tape recorded and a full transcript produced to accompany the completed interview schedule.

In the eight main chapters presenting the results, Graham Dann skillfully weaves together the two types of information gathered: on the one hand quantitative counts in the form of averages, frequencies, percentages and correlations; and on the other, the direct comments of the respondents. The latter, rendered in the vernacular, make the text simply fascinating to read. The approach is thereby far more idiosyncratic, subjective and ultimately humanistic than the earliest volume. It is impossible to convey in a few passages the full richness of the ideas which are conveyed by the inclusion of such quotations, but perhaps a few will afford some impression:

On the efficacy of large families:

"But a large family without a dollar, you can tell anybody, you problem smelling up your nose, man" (p. 150)

On reasons for premartial sex:

"You can't go and marry a woman and aint' know if she is a man or a woman. How you gine know?" (p. 51)

On taking another sexual partner as a result of pregnancy or menstruation:

"It can ease your brain a bit" (p. 83)

But in case these examples might mislead, it should be stressed that throughout, Dann takes great care to avoid the stereotype of the totally irresponsible, macho-dominated male. Rather, his analysis shows evidence of more sensitive and positive contemporary attitudes, at least in some of those interviews. In the end, an accusing finger is pointed squarely at an enduring social system which serves to permeate the entire community with a spirit of machismo. The evidence presented in chapter 1 points to the inadequacy of the home, church, and schools as agents socialising young males. It is argued that these institutions in their present form serve to reinforce existing sexist attitudes. The material on sexual initiation (chapter 2) demonstrates sharply the inadequate sex education that the majority of males interviewed had received. Chapter 3, on gender attitudes, concludes that doing away with the macho ethic will not be achieved overnight, since it permeates the very structure of Barbadian society. Chapters 4 and 5 focus on relationships and fertility respectively. The analysis of levels of knowledge of family planning provided in chapter 6 demonstrates that this is "shatteringly low", while the account on overpopulation awareness suggests that few are cognisant of the wider stage on which their own individual sexual activities and parenthood experiences have ultimately to be evaluated.

For me, *The Barbadian male* is a thought provoking and thoroughly good academic book. There are the usual problems of representation in any work which is heavily based on the citation of transcript material, but every effort has been made to represent all shades of opinion in dealing with controversial

subjects such as birth control, extra-marital sex, and abortion. In places, what appear to be the author's opinions on some leading issues do come shining through, but who wants to read the writings of a viewless social scientist?

The quality of life in Barbados and *The Barbadian male* are essential reading for all those who are concerned with contemporary social conditions, not just in Barbados, but in the anglophone Caribbean taken as a whole. Their utility is not to be measured in terms of the facts they present, interesting though these are, but by virtue of the detailed methods of social survey they employ. They are true essays in social survey research. As the word "essay" implies, these volumes offer a very good read – a rare enough attribute in academic books. Taken together, they establish Graham Dann as a leading writer on social conditions in the Caribbean.

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The West Indies: patterns of development, culture and environmental change since 1492. DAVID WATTS. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987. xxii + 609 pp. (Paper US \$24.95)

Geographer David Watts has provided anglophone readers with the most ambitious geographical text on the Caribbean region to be published in decades. It is an extremely useful book, a kind of gathering-together of information not previously accessible in one convenient place. It is also a fine example of modern historical geography. Watts summarizes crisply what others have told us, in defining the region as distinctive:

Part of the Americas, the islands of the West Indies nevertheless stand out as a unique entity within them... a chain of territories, whose history, culture, environment and general atmosphere are different in several important respects from those of any [sic] found on the mainland ... neither wholly Latin American nor North American ... they are far from being any longer an extension of Europe in the New World ... their aboriginal populations long gone, except for a few minuscule [sic] remnants ... The islands were the first to encounter the initial thrust of European expansion westward across the Atlantic [and] later bore the brunt of movement by northwest European nations toward tropical plantation development. As a by-product of the latter, they participated in the greatest transfer of people in bondage from one continent ... to another that the world has known and then, after emancipation, they succeeded in drawing in immense numbers of contract workers from Asia and elsewhere as well. Each ... group brought ... elements of its own culture to incorporate into that of the new lands in which it settled; and each in turn quickly apprised itself that these same lands were almost devoid of all traces of their former, native cultural inheritance, leaving a vacuum that cried out to be filled. The groups intermingled widely, and were very fertile. The direct consequences of all this today are that, individually, all the West Indies islands have population densities as high as anywhere in the world outside of Southeast Asia, while together they provide a most cosmopolitan array of peoples of different origins and races, racial mixes, languages and cultures (p. xvii).

Watts volume aspires to treat the Caribbean region holistically. He has in mind islands only; and he apparently prefers to call these the West Indies, though many scholars use that term to refer to the anglophone societies only. There are eleven chapters in all, presented in roughly chronological sequence, stretching from the environment and aboriginal settlement to "twentieth-century trends." So large a mouthful requires much condensation and elimination, even in so large a book. The need to cut and condense was additionally pressing because Watts chose to stress the importance of sugar in the total picture, and has devoted almost exactly seventy per cent of his 539 pages of text to the sugar industry alone: essentially, Chapters 4-9 out of the eleven. "I make no apologies for the fact that these chapters form the bulk of the book," he writes, "for it was *in these years* that many long-standing regional attitudes toward development and environment were formed, some of which are still prevalent" (pp. xviii-xix emphasis added). It bears noting that he writes "*in these years*," thus underlining

his chronological framing of the chapters. Were one to define them topically instead, these would be the "sugar chapters."

It is neither useful nor fair to quarrel with the proportions; this is Watts' book, and an excellent one it is. Nonetheless, some useful purpose may be served by suggesting some of those aspects of Caribbean geography, economy, and history that have been given less than full coverage as a consequence. The presumption is that such gaps or omissions in the text represent what was found by the author to be less important, defined according to readily-understood criteria.

But the omissions concern what happened and happens outside the cane industry; happening to people who, for whatever reasons, chose or were compelled to make *their* histories outside sugar. Outside; but as we well know, not independent of. These people, and what they did, is historical substance most of which took on its characteristic form in the context of the cane industry and the classes that owned and represented it. What did and did not happen in the cane industry was in important ways a coefficient of *their* solutions, and those solutions often involved resisting the sugar industry and its managers.

As an introductory example of the consequences of this selectivity, the reader will discover that the first mention of peasants occurs on p. 456, in the book's penultimate chapter, dealing with post-1833 adjustments in the region. Watts defends his hinge date, 1833, as a watershed of Caribbean history. So one might begin by asking "Why 1833"? The answer appears to be that slavery ended in the *British* West Indies in 1833/34, leading to fundamental modifications of all kinds, particularly with regard to labor. But might one not have used 1791 (or 1789), when the Haitian Revolution began? Or 1804, when the Haitian Revolution ended? Surely that astounding Spartacist convulsion meant that the end of slavery everywhere had begun to be imagined, even by some of its staunchest friends. Or perhaps 1807, when the slave trade to British New World possessions became illegal, and H.M. Navy began to "intervene" (is that the word?) on the high seas? Or 1888, when slavery ended in the New World, a decade before the United States decided to save Puerto Rico, the Philippines and other lands, groaning under the Spanish yoke? 1833 is to a certain extent arbitrary; but it is an arbitrary date chosen from the historical record of the *British* West Indies.

More important, though, is the larger question: why does the peasantry reach center stage so tardily? Of course in many regards the subject matter of the peasantry is present earlier: in the discussions of indigenous cultigens; in the somewhat sketchy background on aboriginal occupation and cultural differentiation; in occasional references to *marronage*, and otherwise. But after having read six chapters on the sugar industry, it will not be easy for the unsophisticated reader to grasp just how important it was for people to resist domination

by slavery and the plantation system, nor how that resistance mattered. While pages 506-511 provide some sort of summary of the peasantry, six pages, no matter how cogent, cannot counterbalance six chapters. It is not, however, simply a matter of how much space; it is more a matter of how social difference and social struggle can be interpreted along the way, in looking at so vast a sweep of Caribbean social history.

The tilt toward the sugar industry poses another difficulty for holistic integration, linked to the author's apparently more limited command of the literature on the Hispanic Caribbean (his more limited command of Spanish, too, one suspects - almost all of the typographical errors in the book are in the Spanish titles). The history of Caribbean sugar begins and ends - if one wishes to think of it that way - with the Hispanophone societies. For a lengthy intermediate period, ca. 1580-1760, the hispanophone societies hardly counted in sugar. But after 1763, Cuba's sugar industry exploded into world preeminence; for this development the year 1833 is certainly irrelevant. The three hispanophone societies were launched on different paths, once Cuba's serious reentry into the world sugar economy was set. Cuba itself would soon be producing nearly a third of the world's sugar. But what would happen to the other two vestigial Hispanic Caribbean societies was quite different. If one were to look at these three only in terms of sugar, neither what made them alike to begin with, nor what made them different over time, can be fully revealed.

Hence, the relative inattention to the rise of counterposed adaptations in the region constitutes a weakness of the book, in this reviewer's opinion. But these matters ought not be permitted to detract too much from a splendidly researched and well-written geography. It will stay on my shelf next to Gordon Lewis' *Main Currents*, Friederici's *Amerikanistisches Wörterbuch*, Blume's *The Caribbean Islands*, and a few other books, to remind me how little I know, and to help to keep me honest.

Watts' interest in the Caribbean was piqued during his tutelage at the University of California (Berkeley) with Carl Ortwin Sauer, and Sauer's student James Parsons, and by the opportunity to spend research time in the region. David Harris' work on the Leeward Islands and Jock Galloway's on sugar were among the other influences on him. Such influence shows, as does that of scores of other Caribbeanists, whose work Watts has used to good effect. The Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography series in which this volume appears has since published Galloway's *The sugar cane industry* (1989); these two volumes, in addition to Grigg's earlier *Agricultural systems of the world*, certainly make the Series essential reading for any serious student of the Caribbean region.

That Galloway and Watts have both been stimulated by the American school of New World geographers, of which Sauer can be considered the founder, is

a tribute to that school as well. Sauer's own *The early Spanish Main* and, in its own way even more importantly, his *Agricultural origins and dispersals*, were pioneering syntheses of geography, history and thoughtful speculation. Sauer's students continue to enrich our understanding of the Americas, as this work amply demonstrates.

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